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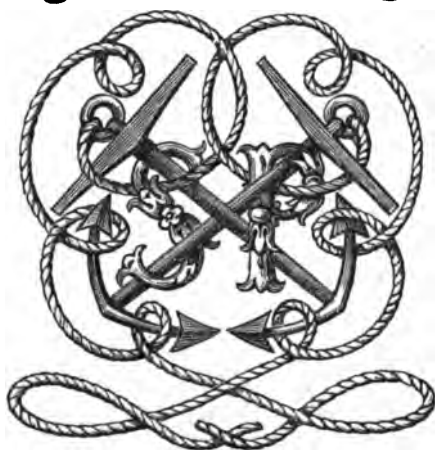
DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF SAMUEL PEPYS,

ESQ., F. R. S.



cujusque is est
Mens *mensura*





DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

amuel epuis,

ESQ., F.R.S.

FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN
LIBRARY, WITH A LIFE AND

NOTES BY

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL

NOTES, BY

REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,

PRESIDENT AND SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

*WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS FROM THE COLLECTION
IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, PRINTED IN
PERMANENT WOODBURYTYPE.*

VOL. II.

LONDON:

BICKERS AND SON, 1, LEICESTER SQUARE.

1876.

Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.
Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
Major, avaritiæ patuit sinus?—JUV. *Sat.* i. 85-88.

Corruption was universal. All offices were made subject of open traffic. Nothing could be done without a consideration, either, according to Forgard, received beforehand, as logice, a bribe, or after the good turn was done, as a gratification. Such were "Good King Charles's golden days."

If, quitting the broad path of history, we seek for minute information concerning ancient manners and customs, the progress of arts and sciences, and the various branches of antiquity, we have never seen a mine so rich as the volumes before us. The variety of Pepys's tastes and pursuits led him into almost every department of life. He was a man of business; a man of information, if not of learning; a man of taste; a man of whim; and, to a certain degree, a man of pleasure. He was a statesman, a bel esprit, a virtuoso, and a connoisseur. His curiosity made him an unwearied as well as an universal learner, and whatever he saw found its way into his tables. Thus his diary absolutely resembles the genial cauldrons at the wedding of Comachò, a souse into which was sure to bring forth at once abundance and variety of whatever could gratify the most eccentric appetite.—*Quarterly Review.* No. 66.

CHISWICK PRESS :—PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS,
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.





P R E F A C E.

READERS of Pepys's Diary will probably be interested in the following particulars respecting the cipher and the publication of the Diary.

" LORD GRENVILLE TO THE HON. AND REV. GEORGE NEVILLE, MASTER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

" Dropmore, Aug. 28, 1818.

" MY DEAR GEORGE,

" When my brother quitted us for the Isle of Wight, he left with me a M.S. volume which you had put into his hands. I have a little smattering of the art of deciphering, and I was desirous to try my hand on this M.S., which, if it could be made out, would, I was aware, on many accounts be extremely interesting; and would just now, if it could be published, form an excellent accompaniment to Evelyn's delightful Diary. I am glad to say that I have succeeded to the utmost of my expectations, or rather much beyond them. The character employed is a shorthand, not very different in principle from those in use now, or at least those which were in use when, as a law student, I practised shorthand. The writing is for the most part alphabetical (divided into words, which gives infinite facility for deciphering), but generally leaving out the vowels, and there is a large

collection of arbitrary signs for terminations, particles, and words of very frequent occurrence, and some, though not near so numerous, for longer and less frequent words. The alphabet I have entirely mastered; the second class of signs I have so in a great measure, and a considerable portion, though not nearly the whole, of the third, which, from the less frequency of its occurrence, is, of course, the more difficult to the decipherer.

“But, as it is, I could already furnish you with a transcript of the first three or four pages, with a few hiatuses, and those easily supplied (or, at least, for the most part so) by conjecture, which I have no doubt a farther progress in the M.S. would soon turn into certainty. But, having got so far as to make the task (I am confident) quite easy to any person who would set himself *sturdily* to it, I am unwilling to go further, because I have done all that is really useful, and I find the poring over these minute characters, though amusing enough, does no good to my eyes.

“What I would recommend is, that on your return to Cambridge, which under the circumstances of this year must, I suppose, be in October, you should lose no time in finding out some man who, for the lucre of gain will sacrifice a few months to the labour of making a complete transcript of the whole, for which purpose I would furnish you with my alphabet and lists of arbitrary signs, and also with the transcript of the first three or four pages, and of some other passages taken casually here and there in the volume. I must not, I believe, see him to give him verbal instructions how to proceed further in deciphering the arbitrary marks, because it might not be right that he should know the MS. to have been in my possession. But any man of ordinary talent would, I am certain, by these helps, master the whole in the course of a week or ten days of steady application, provided

his eyes are young and strong, and that he is willing to work them a little.

"I hope there is no restraint that would prevent you from publishing the whole when thus transcribed, and I am anxious that you should lose no time in setting about it, because it will be much best done under your own inspection this year, when you must of necessity be so much on the spot.¹ If published, there is no doubt that the work would amply repay the expense of the transcript, for which I suppose you will make a specific bargain beforehand, after a few days' experience shall have enabled your decipherer to judge of the nature of the work.

"But if publication be impossible, it would still be a great matter to have such a transcript in the College Library, and I would willingly bear my share in the cost of such a work, to which I am persuaded others would also readily contribute, and which, indeed, need not be large, as I can safely pronounce, judging by the little trouble which I have found in doing the most difficult part of the business. Let me know where and when I shall send the book and the alphabet, &c. If you could prevail upon yourself and Lady Charlotte to find this place between Wales and Cambridge, that would be best of all.

"If no one else can or will undertake it, a professed short-hand writer would dispatch your volume in a week; but I should in your place prefer a Cambridge man, to work under your eye.

"Ever yours,

"G."

With this assistance Mr. Smith (then an undergraduate of St. John's College, Cambridge) undertook the task of deciphering the whole of the "Diary" from the six closely-written volumes of the original

¹ As Vice-Chancellor.

short-hand MS. He commenced it in the spring of 1819, and completed it in April, 1822, having worked, as he says in a letter which was published in the "Illustrated London News," March 27, 1858, for nearly three years at it, usually for twelve and fourteen hours a day.

From this manuscript of Mr. Smith's, Lord Braybrooke published in 1826 the first edition, with notes, of Pepys's Diary. A reprint appeared in 1828. In 1848-9 Lord Braybrooke published an enlarged and revised edition, with additional notes, and in 1854 appeared the fourth edition, the last one "revised and corrected" by Lord Braybrooke.

In 1872 I learnt the cipher from a book in the Pepysian Library by *Shelton*, called "Tachy-graphy or short writing, the most easie, exact, and speedie." *This was the cipher used by Pepys.* There are copies of several editions of it still extant. A copy of an edition published in 1671, which I very much value, has lately been given me. With this help I have deciphered afresh the whole of the Diary.

There is also in the Pepysian Library the account of Charles's escape, after the battle of Worcester, taken down in short-hand by Pepys from the King's own mouth, and written also by him in full.

When Pepys wished to keep anything *particularly concealed*, he wrote his cipher, generally in French, sometimes in Latin, or Greek, or Spanish. This gave me a great deal of trouble. Afterwards he changed his plan and put in *dummy* letters. I was quite puzzled at this, and was nearly giving up in despair the hope of finding out his device, but at last, by rejecting every other letter, I made out the words. It would have been better for Pepys's credit if these passages could not have been deciphered, as all of them are quite unfit for publication.

(M. B.)



LIST OF ADDITIONS.

1, Leicester Square,
March 10, 1876.

FOLLOWING a suggestion thrown out by "The Athenæum," I have hurriedly made out a list of the principal additional matter in this volume, while the book is passing through the binder's hands. This list will therefore not contain many important alterations, and must be accepted only as a rough guide.

A list of the additions in vol. i. will be ready in a few days, and may be had on application to the booksellers. The remaining volumes will contain complete lists.

The Rev. Mynors Bright's notes are signed "(M. B.)"

HY. BICKERS, Jun.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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EORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, *Frontispiece.*

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DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

July 1st, 1662.

TO the office, and there we sat till past noon, and then Captain Cuttance and I by water to Deptford, where the Royal James (in which my Lord went out the last voyage, though he came back in the Charles) was paying off by Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen. So to dinner, and from thence I sent to my Lord to know whether she should be a first rate, as the men would have her, or a second. He answered that we should forbear paying the officers and such whose pay differed upon the rate of the ship, till he could speak with his Royal Highness. To the pay again after dinner, and seeing of Cooper, the mate of the ship, whom I knew in the Charles, I spoke to him about teaching the mathematiques, and do please myself in my thoughts of learning of him, and bade him come to me in a day or two. Towards evening I left them, and to Redriffe by land, Mr. Cowly, the Clerk of the Cheque, with me, discoursing concerning the abuses of the yarde, in which he did give me much light. So by water home, and after half an houre sitting talking with my wife, who was

afeard I did intend to go with my Lord to fetch the Queene mother over, in which I did clear her doubts, I went to bed by daylight, in order to my rising early to-morrow.

2nd. Up while the chimes went four, and to put down my journal, and so to my office, to read over such instructions as concern the officers of the Yard; for I am much upon seeing into the miscarriages there. By and by, by appointment, comes Commissioner Pett; and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who sits in his boat expecting us, and so we down to him at the Tower, and there took water all, and to Deptford (he in our passage taking notice how much difference there is between the old Captains for obedience and order, and the King's new Captains, which I am very glad to hear him confess); and there we went into the Store-house, and viewed first the provisions there, and then his books, but Mr. Davis himself was not there, he having a kinswoman in the house dead, for which, when by and by I saw him, he do trouble himself most ridiculously, as if there was never another woman in the world; in which so much laziness, as also in the Clerkes of the Cheque and Survey (which after one another we did examine), as that I do not perceive that there is one-third of their duties performed; but I perceive, to my great content, Mr. Coventry will have things reformed. So Mr. Coventry to London, and Pett and I to the Pay, and so to dinner, and to the Pay againe, where I did relieve several of my Lord Sandwich's people, but was sorry to see them so peremptory, and at every word would complain to my Lord, as if they shall have such a command over my Lord. In the evening I went forth and took a walk with Mr. Davis, and told him what had passed at his office to-day, and did give him my advice, and so with the rest by barge home and to bed.

3rd. Up by four o'clock and to my office till 8 o'clock, writing over two copies of our contract with Sir W. Rider, &c., for 500 Ton of hempe, which, because it is a secret, I have the trouble of writing over as well as drawing. Then home to dress myself, and so to the office, where another fray between Sir R. Ford and myself about his yarne, wherein I find the board to yield on my side, and was glad thereof, though troubled that the office should fall upon me of disobliging Sir Richard. At noon we all by invitation dined at the Dolphin with the Officers of the Ordnance; where Sir W. Compton, Mr. O'Neale, and other great persons, were. After dinner, was brought to Sir W. Compton a gun to discharge seven times;¹ the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable, and not a bawble; for it is much approved of, and many thereof made. Thence to my office all the afternoon as long as I could see. In the evening came Mr. Lewis to me, and very ingeniously did enquire whether I ever did look into the business of the Chest at Chatham; and after my readiness to be informed did appear to him, he did produce a paper, wherein he stated the government of the Chest to me; and upon the whole did tell me how it hath ever been abused, and to this day is; and what a meritorious act it would be to look after it; which I am resolved to do, if God bless me; and do thank him very much for it. So home, and after a turn or two upon the leades with my wife, who has lately had but little of my company, since I begun to follow my business, but is contented therewith since she sees how I spend my time, and so to bed.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and after my journall put in order, to my office about my business, which I am resolved to follow, for every day I see what

¹ See note March 4, 1663-4. (M. B.)

ground I get by it. By and by comes Mr. Cooper, mate of the Royall Charles, of whom I intend to learn mathematiques, and do begin with him to-day, he being a very able man, and no great matter, I suppose, will content him. After an houre's being with him at arithmetique, (my first attempt being to learn the multiplication-table); then we parted till to-morrow. And so to my business at my office again till noon, about which time Sir W. Warren did come to me about business, and did begin to instruct me in the nature of fine timber and deales, telling me the nature of every sort; and from that we fell to discourse of Sir W. Batten's corruption and the people that he employs, and from one discourse to another of the kind. I was much pleased with his company, and so staid talking with him all alone at my office till 4 in the afternoon, without eating or drinking all day, and then parted, and I home to eat a bit, and so back again to my office; and toward the evening came Mr. Shepley, who is to go out of town to-morrow, and so he and I with much ado settled his accounts with my Lord, which, though they be true and honest, yet so obscure, that it vexes me to see in what manner they are kept. He being gone, and leave taken of him as of a man likely not to come to London again a great while, I eat a bit of bread and butter, and so to bed. This day I sent my brother Tom, at his request, my father's old Bass Viall which he and I have kept so long, but I fear Tom will do little good at it.

5th. To my office all the morning, and at noon had Sir W. Pen, who I hate with all my heart for his base treacherous tricks, but yet I think it not policy to declare it yet, and his son William, to my house to dinner, where was also Mr. Creed and my cozen Harry Alcocke. I having some venison given me a day or two ago, and so I had a shoulder roasted, another

baked, and the umbles¹ baked in a pie, and all very well done. We were merry as I could be in that company, and the more because I would not seem otherwise to Sir W. Pen, he being within a day or two to go for Ireland. After dinner he and his son went away, and Mr. Creed would, with all his rhetorique, have persuaded me to have gone to a play; and in good earnest I find my nature desirous to have gone, notwithstanding my promise and my business, to which I have lately kept myself so close, but I did refuse it, and I hope shall ever do so, and above all things it is considerable that my mind was never in my life in so good a condition of quiet as it has been since I have followed my business and seen myself to get greater and greater fitness in my employment, and honour every day more than other. So at my office all the afternoon, and then my mathematiques at night with Mr. Cooper, and so to supper and to bed.

6th (Lord's day). Settled my accounts with my wife for housekeeping, and do see that my kitchen, besides wine, fire, candle, sope, and many other things, comes to about 30s. a week, or a little over. To church, where Mr. Mills made a lazy sermon. My wife and I to church again in the afternoon, and that done I walked to the Wardrobe and to supper with my Lady (Sandwich); who tells me, with much trouble, that my Lady Castlemaine is still as great with the King, and that the King comes as often to her as ever he did. Jack Cole, my old friend, found me out at the Wardrobe; and, among other things, he told me that certainly most of the chief ministers

¹ *Umbles*. Part of the inside of a deer—the liver, kidneys, &c. "The keeper hath the skin, head, *umbles*, chine and shoulders."—HOLINSHEAD, i. 204.

"The old cookery books give receipts for making *umble* pies. Hence the phrase 'making persons eat umble pie,' meaning to *humble* them."—NARES' *Glossary*. (M. B.)

of London would fling up their livings ; and that, soon or late, the issue thereof would be sad to the King and Court.

7th. Up and to my office early, and there all the morning alone, and after dinner to my office again, and by and by comes Mr. Cooper, so he and I to our mathematiques.

8th. To the Wardrobe ; where alone with my Lord above an hour ; and he do seem still to have his old confidence in me ; and tells me to boot, that Mr. Coventry hath spoke of me to him to great advantage ; wherein I am much pleased. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to visit my Lord ; and so my Lord and he and I walked together in the great chamber a good while ; and I found him a most ingenuous man and good company.

9th. Up by four o'clock, and at my multiplicacion-table hard, which is all the trouble I meet withal in my arithmetique. Sir W. Pen came to my office to take his leave of me, and desiring a turn in the garden, did commit the care of his building to me, and offered all his services to me in all matters of mine. I did, God forgive me ! promise him all my service and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any ; but as he dissembles with me, so must I with him. Then to my business till night, and then came Mr. Mills, the minister, to see me, which he hath but rarely done to me, though every day almost to others of us ; but he is a cunning fellow, and knows where the good victuals is, and the good drink, at Sir W. Batten's. However, I used him civilly, though I love him as I do the rest of his coat.

10th. Up by four o'clock, and before I went to the office I practised my arithmetique, and then, when my wife was up, did call her and Sarah, and did make up a difference between them, for she is so

good a servant as I am loth to part with her. So to the office all the morning, where very much business, but it vexes me to see so much disorder at our table, that, every man minding a several business, we dispatch nothing.

11th. Up by four o'clock, and hard at my multiplication-table, which I am now almost master of, and so made me ready and to my office, and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who stays in his boat at the Tower for us. So we to him, and down to Deptford first, and there viewed some deales lately served in at a low price, which our officers, like knaves, would untruly value in their worth, but we found them good. Then to Woolwich, and viewed well all the houses and stores there, which lie in very great confusion for want of storehouses. Then to the Ropeyarde, and there viewed the hempe, wherein we found great corruption. So by water back again. About five in the afternoon to Whitehall, and so to St. James's; and at Mr. Coventry's chamber, which is very neat and fine, we had a pretty neat dinner, and after dinner fell to discourse of business and regulation, and do think of many things that will put matters into better order, and upon the whole my heart rejoices to see Mr. Coventry so ingenious, and able, and studious to do good, and with much frankness and respect to Mr. Pett and myself particularly.

12th. Up by five o'clock, and put things in order to be laid up, against my workmen come on Monday to take down the top of my house. At night with Cooper at arithmetique.

13th (Lord's day). To Deptford, on purpose to sign and seale a couple of warrants, as justice of peace in Kent, against one Annis, who is to be tried next Tuesday, at Maidstone assizes, for stealing some lead out of Woolwich Yarde. Come home I

found a rabbit at the fire, and so supped well, and so to my journall and to bed.

14th. Up by 4 o'clock and to my arithmetique, and so to my office till 8, then to Thames Street along with old Mr. Green, among the tarr-men, and did instruct myself in the nature and prices of tarr, but could not get Stockholm for the use of the office under 10*l*. 15*s*. per last, which is a great price. So home, and at noon Dr. T. Pepys to dinner, where by chance comes Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, and then Mr. Battersby, the minister, and then Mr. Dun, and it happened that I had a haunch of venison boiled, and so they were very wellcome and merry; but my simple Dr. do talk so like a fool that I am weary of him.

15th. Up by 4 o'clock and to my office, and there busy till sitting time. So at the office and broke up late. In the evening comes Mr. Cooper, and I took him by water on purpose to tell me things belonging to ships, which was time well spent. About bed-time it fell a-raining, and the house being all open at top, it vexed me; but there was no help for it.

16th. In the morning I found all my ceilings spoiled with raine last night, so that I fear they must be all new whited when the work is done. To my office, and by and by came Mr. Moore to me, and so I went home and consulted about drawing up a fair state of all my Lord's accounts, which being settled, he went away. At noon to my Lord's with it, but found him at dinner, and some great company with him, Mr. Edward Montagu and his brother, and Mr. Coventry, and after dinner he went out with them, and so I lost my labour; but dined with Mr. Moore and the people below, who after dinner fell to talk of Portugall rings, and Captain Ferrers offered five or six to sell, and I seeming to like a ring made of a coco-nutt with a stone done in it, he did offer

and would give it me. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine (being quite fallen out with her husband) did yesterday go away from him, with all her plate, jewels, and other best things; and is gone to Richmond to a brother of her's; which, I am apt to think, was a design to get out of towne, that the King might come at her the better.

17th. To my office, and by and by to our sitting; where much business. Mr. Coventry took his leave, being to go with the Duke over for the Queene-Mother.

18th. Up very early, and got a-top of my house, seeing the design of my work, and like it well, and it comes into my head to have my dining-room wainscoated, which will be very pretty. By-and-by by water to Deptford, to put several things in order, being myself now only left in towne, so to the office till night, and then comes Cooper for my mathe-matiques, but, in good earnest, my head is so full of business that I cannot understand it as otherwise I should do.

19th. In the afternoon I went upon the river to look after some tarr I am sending down and some coles; it raining hard upon the water, I put ashore and sheltered myself, while the King came by in his barge, going down towards the Downes to meet the Queene: the Duke being gone yesterday. But methought it lessened my esteem of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain.

20th (Lord's day). My wife and I lay talking long in bed, and at last she is come to be willing to stay two months in the country. To dinner, we had a calf's head and bacon at my chamber at Sir W. Pen's, and there I and my wife concluded to have her go and her two mayds and the boy, and so there shall be none but Will and I left at home. At night to my office, and there put down

this day's passages in my journall, and read my oathes, as I am obliged every Lord's day.

21st. Up early. I did take boat and down to Greenwich, to Captain Cocke's, who hath a most pleasant seat, and neat. Here I drank wine, and eat some fruit off the trees; and he showed a great rarity, which was two or three of a great number of silver dishes and plates, which he bought of an embassador that did lack money, in the edge or rim of which was placed silver and gold medalls, very ancient, and I believe wrought, which, if they be, they are the greatest rarity that ever I saw in my life, and I will show Mr. Crumlum them. Thence to Woolwich to the Rope-yard; and there looked over several sorts of hempe, and did fall upon my great survey of seeing the working and experiments of the strength and the charge in the dressing of every sort; and I do think have brought it to so great a certainty, as I have done the King great service in it: and do purpose to get it ready against the Duke's coming to towne to present to him. Thence to the docke, where we walked in Mr. Shelden's garden, eating more fruit, and drinking, and eating figs, which were very good, and talking while the Royal James was bringing towards the docke, and then we went out and saw the manner and trouble of docking such a ship, which yet they could not do, but only brought her head into the Docke, and so shored her up till next tide. But, good God! what a deal of company was there from both yards to helpe to do it, when half the company would have done it as well. But I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

22d. I had letters from the Downes from Mr. Coventry; who tells me of the foul weather they had last Sunday, that drove them back from near Bologne, whither they were going for the Queene,

back again to the Downes, with the loss of their cables, sayles, and masts; but are all safe, only my Lord Sandwich, who went before with the yachts; they know not what is become of him, which do trouble me much; but I hope he got ashore before the storm begun; which God grant! All day at the office, only at home at dinner, where I was highly angry with my wife for her keys being out of the way, but they were found at last, and so friends again.

23rd. This morning angry a little, and my house being so much out of order makes me a little pettish. I went to the office, and there dispatched business by myself, and so again in the afternoon; being a little vexed that my brother Tom, by his neglect, do fail to get a coach for my wife and mayde this week, by which she will not be at Brampton Feast, to meet my Lady at my father's. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and downe the towne, that my Lord Sandwich is lost; but I trust in God the contrary.

24th. I hear, to my great content, that my Lord Sandwich is safe landed in France.

25th. At the office all the morning, reading Mr. Holland's discourse of the navy, lent me by Mr. Turner, and am much pleased with them, they hitting the very diseases of the Navy, which we are troubled with now-a-days.

26th. I had a letter from Mr. Creed, who hath escaped narrowly in the King's yacht, and got safe to the Downes after the late storm; and he says that there the King do tell him, that he is sure my Lord is landed in Callis safe, of which being glad, I sent news thereof to my Lord Crew, and by the post to my Lady into the country. This afternoon I went to Westminster; and there hear that the King and Queene intend to come to White Hall from Hampton Court next week, for all winter. Thence

to Mrs. Sarah,¹ and there looked over my Lord's lodgings, which are very pretty; and White Hall garden and the Bowling-ally (where lords and ladies are now at bowles), in brave condition. Mrs. Sarah told me how the falling out between my Lady Castlemaine and her Lord was about christening of the child lately, which he would have, and had done by a priest: and, some days after, she had it again christened by a minister; the King, and Lord of Oxford,² and Duchesse of Suffolk,³ being witnesses: and christened with a proviso, that it had not already been christened. Since that she left her Lord, carrying away every thing in the house; so much as every dish, and cloth, and servant but the porter. He is gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery; and now she is coming back again to her house in King-streete. But I hear that the Queene did prick her out of the list presented her by the King; desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come: and that the King was angry and the Queene discontented a whole day and night upon it; but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well: and so I writ this night to my Lady to be my opinion; she calling her my lady, and the lady I admire. Here I find that my Lord hath lost the garden to his lodgings, and that it is turning into a tennis-court.

27th (Lord's day). I to walk in the Parke, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the

¹ Lord Sandwich's housekeeper.

² Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford. Ob. 1702-3, s. p.

³ Perhaps a mistake for Countess, as there was no Duchess of Suffolk at that period.

new works upon it. Here meeting with Laud Crispe, I took him to the further end, and sat under a tree in a corner, and there sung some songs.

28th. Up early, and by six o'clock, after my wife was ready, I walked with her to the George, at Holborne Conduit,¹ where the coach stood ready to carry her and her mayde to Bugden : so I took a troubled though willing good-bye, because of the bad condition of my house to have a family in it. Walked to the water-side, and there took boat for the Tower ; hearing that the Queene-Mother is come this morning already as high as Woolwich : and that my Lord Sandwich was with her ; at which my heart was glad. So home all alone to dinner, and then to the office, and in the evening Cooper comes, and he being gone, to my chamber a little troubled and melancholy, to my lute, and so to bed, Will lying there at my feet.

29th. Early up, and brought all my money, which is near 300 £ , out of my house into this chamber ; and so to the office, and there we sat all the morning, Sir George Carteret and Mr. Coventry being come from sea. This morning among other things I broached the business of our being abused about flags, which I know doth trouble Sir W. Batten, but I care not. To the office again, and in the evening walked to Deptford (Cooper with me talking of mathematiques), to send a fellow to prison for cutting of buoy ropes, and to see the difference between the flags sent in now-a-days, and I find the old ones, which were much cheaper, to be wholly as good.

¹ "The Fleet (the river so called from its rapid current) next directed its course past Bagnigge Wells, &c., and Saffron Hill and so to the bottom of Holborn. Here it received the water of the Old Bourne (whence the name Holborn), which rose near Middle Row, and the channel of which forms the sewer of Holborn Hill to this day."—AYMER, *Introduction to the Chroniques de London*, p. xii. Camden Society, 1844. (M. B.)

So I took one of a sort with me, and Mr. Wayth accompanying of me a good way, talking of the faults of the Navy, I walked to Redriffe back, and so home by water.

30th. Up early, and to my office, where Cooper came to me and begun his lecture upon the body of a ship, which my having of a modell in the office is of great use to me, and very pleasant and useful it is. By water to White Hall, and there waited upon my Lord Sandwich; and joyed him, at his lodgings, of his safe coming home after all his danger, which he confesses to be very great. And his people do tell me how bravely my Lord did carry himself, while my Lord Crofts¹ did cry; and I perceive it is all the town talk how poorly he carried himself. But the best was of one Mr. Rawlins, a courtier, that was with my Lord; and in the greatest danger cried, "My Lord, I won't give you three-pence for your place now." But all ends in the honour of the pleasure-boats; which, had they not been very good boats, they could never have endured the sea as they did. Thence with Captain Fletcher, of the Gage, to Woolwich, expecting to find Sir W. Batten there upon his survey, but he is not come, and so we got a dish of steaks at the White Hart, while his clarkes and others were feasting of it in the best room of the house, and after dinner playing at shuffleboard,² and when at last they heard I was there, they went about their survey. But God help the King! what surveys shall be taken after this manner! I after dinner about my business to the

¹ William Crofts, created Baron Crofts of Saxham in Suffolk, 1658, and died s. p. 1677.

² *Shuffleboard*, called also "shovel-board, shove-board, shove-groat." A game which consisted in pushing or shaking pieces of money on a board to reach certain marks. The board had lines or divisions, according to the value of which the player counted his game. It was played at one time with silver groats, and thence

Rope-yard, and there staid till night, repeating several trialls of the strength, wayte, waste, and other things of hempe, by which I have furnished myself enough to finish my intended business of stating the goodness of all sorts of hempe. At night home by boat with Sir W. Warren.

31st. At noon Mr. Coventry and I by his coach to the Exchange together; and in Lumbard-streete met Captain Browne of the Rosebush: at which he was cruel angry; and did threaten to go to-day to the Duke at Hampton Court, and get him turned out because he was not sailed. So took boat to Billingsgate, and went down on board the Rosebush at Woolwich, and found all things out of order, but after frightening the officers there, we left them to make more haste, and so on shore to the yarde, and did the same to the officers of the yarde, that the ship is not dispatched. Here we found Sir W. Batten going about his survey, but so poorly and unlike a survey of the Navy, that I am ashamed of it, and so is Mr. Coventry. So home late, and it being the last day of the month, I did make up my accounts before I went to bed, and found myself worth about 650*l.*, for which the Lord God be praised, and so to bed. I drank but two glasses of wine this day, and yet it makes my head ake all night, and indisposed me all the next day, of which I am glad. I am now in towne only with my man

had its name; afterwards with a smooth shilling, but still retaining its name of *shove-groat*.

"Quoit him down, Bardolph, like a *shove-groat* shilling."

SHAKESPEARE, 2 *Henry IV.*, act ii. sc. 4.

"Seven groats in mill-sixpences, and two Edward *shovel-boards*, that cost me two shillings and twopence apiece."

Merry Wives of Windsor, act i. sc. 1.

Edward the Sixth's shillings were then for the most part used at *shove-board*. (M. B.)

Will and Jane, and because my house is in building, I do lie at Sir W. Pen's house, he being gone to Ireland. My wife, her mayde, and boy gone to Brampton. I am very well entered into the business and esteem of the office, and do ply it close, and find benefit by it.

August 1st. Up, my head akeing, and to my office, where Cooper read me another lecture upon my modell very pleasant. So to my business all the morning, which increases by people coming now to me to the office.

2nd. Up early, and got me ready in my riding clothes, and took boat with Will, and down to Greenwich, where Captain Cocke not being at home I was vexed, and went to walk in the Park till he came thither to me: and Will's forgetting to bring my boots in the boat did also vex me, for I was forced to send the boat back againe for them. I to Captain Cocke's along with him to dinner, where I find his lady still pretty, but not so good a humour as I thought she was. We had a plain, good dinner, and I see they do live very frugally. I eat among other fruit much mulberrys, a thing I have not eat of these many years, since I used to be at Ashted, at my cozen Pepys's. After dinner we to boat, and had a pleasant passage down to Gravesend, but it was nine o'clock before we got thither, so that we were in great doubt what to do, whether to stay there or no; and the rather because I was afeard to ride, because of my paine; but at the Swan, finding Mr. Hempson and Lieutenant Carteret of the Foresight come to meet me, I borrowed Mr. Hempson's horse, and he took another, and so we rode to Rochester in the dark. So after a glass of wine, we to our barge, that was ready for me, to the Hill-house, where we soon went to bed, before we slept I telling, upon discourse with Captain Cocke, the manner of my being

cut of the stone, which pleased him much. So to sleep.

3rd (Lord's day). Up early, and with Captain Cocke to the dock-yard, a fine walk, and fine weather. Where we walked till Commissioner Pett came to us, and took us to his house, and showed us his garden and fine things, and did give us a fine breakfast of bread and butter, and sweetmeats and other things with great choice, and strong drinks, with which I could not avoyde making my head ake, though I drank but little. Thence by and by to church, by coach, with the Commissioner, and had a dull sermon. A full church, and some pretty women in it; among others, Beck Allen, who was a bride-mayde to a new married couple that came to church to-day, and, which was pretty strange, sat in a pew hung with mourning for a mother of the bride's, which methinks should have been taken down. After dinner to church again, where quite weary, and so with the Commissioner to his house, and had a syllabub, and saw his closet, which came short of what I expected, but there were fine modellls of ships in it indeed, whose worth I could not judge of. So to supper, and so Captain Cocke and I to bed. Among other stories he told me how despicable a thing it is to be a hangman in Poland, although it be a place of credit. And that, in his time, there was some repairs to be made of the gallows there, which was very fine of stone; but nobody could be got to mend it till the Burgo-master, or Mayor of the towne, with all the companies of those trades which were necessary to be used about those repairs, did go in their habits with flags, in solemn procession to the place, and there the Burgo-master did give the first blow with the hammer upon the wooden work; and the rest of the Masters of the Companys upon the works belonging to their trades; that so work-

men might not be ashamed to be employed upon doing of the gallows' works.

4th. Up by four o'clock in the morning and walked to the Docke, where Commissioner Pett and I took barge and went to the guardships and mustered them, finding them but badly manned. Thence to the Charles, and were troubled to see her kept so neglectedly; thence to Upnor Castle, and there went up to the top, where there is a fine prospect, but of very small force; so to the yarde, and there mustered the whole ordinary, where great disorder by multitude of servants and old decrepid men, which must be remedied. So took barge at the docke and to Rochester, and there took coach about 8 at night and to Gravesend, where it was very dark before we got thither to the Swan; and there, meeting with Doncaster, an old waterman of mine above bridge, we eat a short supper, being very merry with the drolling, drunken coachman that brought us, and so took water. It being very dark, and the wind rising, and our waterman unacquainted with this part of the river, so that we presently cast upon the Essex shoare, but got off again, and so, as well as we could, went on, but I in such feare that I could not sleep till we came to Erith, and there it begun to be calme, and the stars to shine, and so I began to take heart again, and the rest too, and so made shift to slumber a little. Above Woolwich we lost our way, and went back to Blackwall, and up and down, being guided by nothing but the barking of a dog, which we had observed in passing by Blackwall, and so,

5th. Got right again with much ado, after two or three circles and so on, and at Greenwich set in Captain Cocke, and I set forward, hailing to all the King's ships at Deptford, but could not wake any man: so that we could have done what we would with their ships. At last waked one man; but it

was a merchant ship, the Royall Catharine: so to the Tower-docke and home, where the girle sat up for me. It was about three o'clock, and putting Mr. Boddam out of my bed, went to bed, and lay till nine o'clock, and so the office, where we sat all the morning. Dined alone at home, and was glad my house is begun tiling.

6th. By water to White Hall; and so to St. James's; but there found Mr. Coventry gone to Hampton Court. So to my Lord's; and he is also gone: this being a great day at the Council about some business before the King. Here Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, told me how Mr. Edward Montagu hath lately had a duell with Mr. Cholmely, that is first gentleman-usher to the Queene, and was a messenger from the King to her in Portugall, and is a fine gentleman; but had received many affronts from Mr. Montagu, and some unkindness from my Lord, upon his score (for which I am sorry). He proved too hard for Montagu, and drove him so far backward that he fell into a ditch, and dropt his sword, but with honour would take no advantage over him; but did give him his life: and the world says Mr. Montagu did carry himself very poorly in the business, and hath lost his honour for ever with all people in it, of which I am very glad, in hopes that it will humble him. I hear also that he hath sent to my Lord to borrow 400*l.*, giving his brother Harvey's¹ security for it, and that my Lord will lend it him, for which I am sorry. This afternoon Mr. Waith was with me, and did tell me much concerning the Chest, which I am resolved to look into; and I perceive he is sensible of Sir W. Batten's carriage; and is pleased to see any thing work against him.

7th. Up by four o'clock and to my office, and by

¹ Sir D. Harvey married Mr. Montagu's sister. See October 10th, 1661. (M. B.)

and by Mr. Cooper comes and to our modell, which pleases me more and more. This morning I got unexpectedly the Reserve for Mr. Cooper to be maister of, which was only by taking an opportune time to motion it, which is one good effect of my being constant at the office, that nothing passes without me; and I have the choice of my own time to propose anything I would have. Dined at home, and to the office again, it being become a pleasure to me now-a-days to follow my business, and the greatest part may be imputed to my drinking no wine, and going to no plays.

8th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and at five by water to Woolwich, there to see the manner of tarring, and all the morning looking to see the several proceedings in making of cordage, and other things relating to that sort of works, much to my satisfaction. At noon came Mr. Coventry on purpose from Hampton Court to see the same, and dined with Mr. Falconer, and after dinner to several experiments of Hempe. Thence we walked talking very good discourse all the way to Greenwich, and I do find most excellent discourse from him. Among other things, his rule of suspecting every man that proposes any thing to him to be a knave; or, at least, to have some ends of his own in it. Being led thereto by the story of Sir John Millicent, that would have had a patent from King James for every man to have had leave to have given him a shilling; and that he might take it of every man that had a mind to give it, and being answered that that was a fair thing, but what needed he a patent for it, and what he would do to them that would not give him. He answered, he would not force them; but that they should come to the Council of State, to give a reason why they would not. Another rule is a proverb that he hath been taught, which is that a man that cannot

sit still in his chamber (the reason of which I did not understand him), and he that cannot say no (that is, that is of so good a nature that he cannot deny any thing, or cross another in doing any thing), is not fit for business. The last of which is a very great fault of mine, which I must amend. Thence by boat ; I being hot, he put the skirt of his cloake about me ; and it being rough, he told me the passage of a Frenchman through London Bridge, where, when he saw the great fall, he begun to cross himself and say his prayers in the greatest fear in the world, and soon as he was over, he swore " Morbleu ! c'est le plus grand plaisir du monde," being the most like a French humour in the world. To Deptford, and there surprised the Yarde, and called them to a muster, and discovered many abuses, which we shall be able to understand hereafter and amend. Thence walked to Redriffe, and so to London Bridge, where I parted with him, and walked home and did a little business, and to supper and to bed.

9th. Up by four o'clock or a little after, and to my office, whither by and by comes Cooper, and did a good morning's work upon the rigging. By and by comes Mr. Coventry, and he and I alone sat at the office all the morning upon business. And so to dinner to Trinity House, and thence by his coach towards White Hall ; but there being a stop at the Savoy, we light and took water, and my Lord Sandwich being out of towne, we parted there, all the way having good discourse, and in short I find him the most ingenuous person I ever found in my life, and am happy in his acquaintance and my interest in him. Home by water, and did business at my office. Writing to my brother John to dissuade him from being Moderator of his year, which I hear is proffered him, of which I am very glad. By and by comes Cooper, and he and I by candlelight at my modell,

being willing to learn as much of him as is possible before he goes.

10th (Lord's day). Being to dine at my brother's, I walked to St. Dunstan's, the church being now finished; and here I heard Dr. Bates,¹ who made a most eloquent sermon; and I am sorry I have hitherto had so low an opinion of the man, for I have not heard a neater sermon a great while, and more to my content. So to Tom's, where Dr. Fairebrother, newly come from Cambridge, met me, and Dr. Thomas Pepys. I framed myself as pleasant as I could, but my mind was another way. Hither came my uncle Fenner, hearing that I was here. He told me the new service-booke (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their deske at St. Sepulchre's for Mr. Gouge to read; but he laid it aside, and would not meddle with it: and I perceive the Presbyters do all prepare to give over all against Bartholomewtide. Mr. Herring, being lately turned out at St. Bride's, did read the psalme to the people while they sung at Dr. Bates's, which methought is a strange turn. After dinner to St. Bride's, and there heard one Carpenter, an old man, who, they say, hath been a Jesuite priest, and is come over to us; but he preaches very well. So home, and hear that Mr. Calamy hath taken his farewell this day of his people, and that others will do so the next Sunday. Mr. Turner,² the draper, I hear, is knighted, made Alderman, and pricked for Sheriffe, with Sir Thomas Bluddel,³ for the next year, by the King, and so are called with great honour the King's Sheriffes.

11th. All the morning at the office. Dean Fuller came to see me, and so to the Dolphin taverne, where I spent 6*d.* on him, but drank but one glass of

¹ Dr. Bates, a celebrated Nonconformist divine.

² Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London, 1669.

³ A mistake for Bludworth.

wine, and so parted. He tells me that his niece, that sings so well, whom I have long longed to see, is married to one Mr. Boys, a wholesayle man at the Three Crowns in Cheapside. I to the office again, whither Cooper came and read his last lecture to me upon my modell, and so bid me good bye, he being to go to-morrow to Chatham to take charge of the ship I have got him. So to my business till 9 at night, and so to supper and to bed, my mind a little at ease because my house is now quite tiled.

12th. Up early at my office, and I find all people beginning to come to me. Among others Mr. Deane, the Assistant of Woolwich, who I find will discover to me the whole abuse that his Majesty suffers in the measuring of timber, of which I shall be glad. By and by we sat, and among other things Sir W. Batten and I had a difference about his clerk's making a warrant for a Maister, which I would not suffer, but got another signed, which he desires may be referred to a full board, and I am willing to it.

13th. Up early, and to my office. By and by we met on purpose to enquire into the business of the flag-makers, where I am the person that do chiefly manage the business against them on the King's part; and I do find it the greatest cheat that I have yet found; they having eightpence per yard allowed them by pretence of a contract, where no such thing appears; and it is threepence more than was formerly paid, and than I now offer the Board to have them done. To Lambeth; and there saw the little pleasure-boat in building by the King, my Lord Brun-kard,¹ and the virtuosoës of the towne, according to

¹ William, second Lord Brouncker, Viscount of Castle Lyons; created M.D. in 1642, at Oxford: Keeper of the Great Seal to the Queen; a Commissioner of the Admiralty; and Master of St. Catherine's Hospital. He was a man of considerable talents, and some years President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1684, aged 64.

new lines, which Mr. Pett cries up mightily, but how it will prove we shall soon see. So by water home, and busy at my study late, drawing a letter to the yards of reprehension and direction for the board to sign, in which I took great pains. So home and to bed.

14th. Commissioner Pett and I being invited, went by Sir John Winter's coach sent for us, to the Miter, in Fanchurch-street, to a venison-pasty; where I found him a very worthy man; and good discourse. Most of which was concerning the Forest of Deane, and the timber there, and iron-workes with their great antiquity, and the vast heaps of cinders which they find, and are now of great value, being necessary for the making of iron at this day; and without which they cannot work: with the age of many trees there left at a great fall in Edward the Third's time, by the name of forbid-trees, which at this day are called vorbid trees.

15th. Up very early, and up about seeing how my work proceeds, and am pretty well pleased therewith; especially my wife's closet will be very pretty. At noon to the Change, and there hear of some Quakers that are seized on, that would have blown up the prison in Southwarke where they are put. So to the Swan, in Old Fish Streete, where Mr. Brigden and his father-in-law, Blackbury, of whom we had bought timber in the office, but have not dealt well with us, did make me a fine dinner only to myself; and after dinner comes in a jugler, which shewed us very pretty tricks. I seemed very pleasant, but am no friend to the man's dealings with us in the office. I went to Paul's Church Yard to my bookseller's; and there I hear that next Sunday will be the last of a great many Presbyterian ministers in towne, who, I hear, will give up all. I pray God the issue may be good, for the discontent is great. My mind well pleased

with a letter that I found at home from Mr. Coventry, expressing his satisfaction in a letter I writ last night, and sent him this morning, to be corrected by him in order to its sending down to all the Yards as a charge to them.

17th (Lord's day). Up very early, this being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach, unless they read the new Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant, and so I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates's farewell sermon ; and so walked to St. Dunstan's, where, it not being seven o'clock yet, the doors were not open ; and so I went and walked an hour in the Temple-garden, reading my vows, which it is a great content to me to see how I am a changed man in all respects for the better, since I took them, which the God of Heaven continue to me, and make me thankful for. At eight o'clock I went, and crowded in at a back door among others, the church being half-full almost before any doors were open publicly ; which is the first time that I have done so these many years since I used to go with my father and mother, and so got into the gallery, beside the pulpit, and heard very well. His text was, " Now the God of Peace —— ;" the last Hebrews, and the 20th verse : he making a very good sermon, and very little reflections in it to any thing of the times. Besides the sermon, I was very well pleased with the sight of a fine lady that I have often seen walk in Graye's Inn Walks, and it was my chance to meet her again at the door going out, and very pretty and sprightly she is. So to Madam Turner's, and dined with her. She had heard Parson Herring take his leave ; tho' he, by reading so much of the Common Prayer as he did, hath cast himself out of the good opinion of both sides. After dinner to St. Dunstan's again ; and the church quite crowded before I came, which was just at one o'clock ; but I got into the

gallery again, but stood in a crowd. He¹ pursued his text again very well ; and only at the conclusion told us, after this manner : " I do believe that many of you do expect that I should say something to you in reference to the time, this being the last time that possibly I may appear here. You know it is not my manner to speak any thing in the pulpit that is extraneous to my text and business ; yet this I shall say, that it is not my opinion, fashion, or humour that keeps me from complying with what is required of us ; but something which, after much prayer, discourse, and study yet remains unsatisfied, and commands me herein. Wherefore, if it is my unhappiness not to receive such an illuminacion as should direct me to do otherwise, I know no reason why men should not pardon me in this world, and am confident that God will pardon me for it in the next." And so he concluded. Parson Herring read a psalme and chapters before sermon ; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had done, says he, " This is just the case of England at present. God he bids us to preach, and men bid us not to preach ; and if we do, we are to be imprisoned and further punished. All that I can say to it is, that I beg your prayers, and the prayers of all good Christians, for us." This was all the exposition he made of the chapter in these very words, and no more. I was much pleased with Dr. Bates's manner of bringing in the Lord's Prayer after his owne ; thus, " In whose comprehensive words we sum up all our imperfect desires ; saying, ' Our Father,' " &c. I hear most of the Presbyters took their leaves to-day, and that the City is much dissatisfied with it. I pray God keep peace among us, and make the Bishops careful of

¹ Dr. Bates.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

bringing in good men in their rooms, or else all will fly a-pieces ; for bad ones will not go down with the City.

18th. Up very early, and up upon my house to see how work goes on, which do please me very well. So about seven o'clock took horse and rode to Bowe, and there staid at the King's Head, and eat a breakfast of eggs till Mr. Deane¹ of Woolwich came, and he and I rid into Waltham Forest, and there we saw many trees of the King's a-hewing ; and he showed me the whole mystery of off square, wherein the King is abused in the timber that he buys, which I shall with much pleasure be able to correct. After we had been a good while in the wood, we rode to Illford, and there, while dinner was getting ready, he and I practised measuring of the tables and other things till I did understand measure of timber and board very well. So to dinner and by and by, being sent for, comes Mr. Cooper, our officer in the Forest, and did give me an account of things there, and how the country is backward to come in with their carts. While I am here, Sir W. Batten passed by in his coach, homewards from Colchester, where he had been seeing his son-in-law, Lemon, that lies a-dying, but I would take no notice of him, but let him go. By and by I rode to Barking, and there saw the place where they ship this timber for Woolwich ; and so Deane and I home again, and parted at Bowe, and I home just before a great showre of rayne, as God would have it. I find Deane a pretty able man, and able to do the King service ; but, I think, more out of envy to the rest of the officers of the yarde, of whom he complains much, than true love, more than others, to the service. He would fain seem a modest man, and yet will commend his own work and skill,

¹ Anthony Deane, afterwards knighted and M.P. for Harwich ; a Commissioner of the Navy, 1672.

and vie with other persons, especially the Petts, but I let him alone to hear all he will say.

19th. Up betimes and to see how my work goes on. Then Mr. Creed came to me, and he and I walked an houre or two till 8 o'clock in the garden. Among other things he tells me that my Lord has put me into Commission with himself and many noblemen and others for Tangier, which, if it be, is not only great honour, but may be of profit too, and I am very glad of it. By and by to sit at the office; and Mr. Coventry did tell us of the duell between Mr. Jermyn,¹ nephew to my Lord St. Alban's, and Colonel Giles Rawlins, the latter of whom is killed, and the first mortally wounded, as it is thought. They fought against Captain Thomas Howard, my Lord Carlisle's brother, and another unknown; who, they say, had armor on that they could not be hurt, so that one of their swords went up to the hilt against it. They had horses ready, and are fled. But what is most strange, Howard sent one challenge, but they could not meet, and then another, and did meet yesterday at the old Pall Mall at St. James's, and he would not to the last tell Jermyn what the quarrel was; nor do any body know. The Court is much concerned in this fray, and I am glad of it; hoping that it will cause some good laws against it. After sitting, Sir G. Carteret did tell me how he had spoke of me to my Lord Chancellor, and that if my Lord Sandwich would ask my Lord Chancellor, he should know what he had said of me to him to my advantage, of which I am very glad, and do not doubt that all things will grow better and better every day for me. Dined at home alone, then to my office, and there till late at night doing business, and so home, eat a bit, and to bed.

¹ He became Baron Jermyn on the death of his uncle, the Earl of St. Alban's, 1683; and died unmarried, 1703.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found in bed. Among other talk, he do tell me that he hath put me into commission with a great many great persons in the business of Tangier, which is a very great honour to me, and may be of good concernment to me. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to us, whom my Lord tells that he is also put into the commission, and that I am there, of which he said he was glad; and did tell my Lord that I was indeed the life of this office, and much more to my commendation beyond measure. And that, whereas before he did bear me respect for his sake, he do do it now much more for my own; which is a great blessing to me. Sir G. Carteret having told me what he did yesterday concerning his speaking to my Lord Chancellor about me. So that on all hands, by God's blessing, I find myself a very rising man. By and by comes my Lord Peterborough in, with whom we talked a good while, and he is going to-morrow toward Tangier again. I perceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland,¹ which is of great concernment to Tangier. Meeting Mr. Townsend, he would needs take me to Fleete Streete, to one Mr. Barwell, squire sadler to the King, and there we and several other Wardrobe-men dined. We had a venison pasty, and other good plain and handsome dishes; the mistress of the house a pretty, well-carriaged woman, and a fine hand she hath; and her mayde a pretty brown lass. But I do find my nature ready to run back to my old course of drinking wine and staying from my business, and yet, thank God, I was not fully contented with it, but did stay at little ease, and after dinner hastened home by water, and so to my office till late at night.

21st. Up early, and to my office. At noon, though

¹ A Moorish usurper, who had put himself at the head of an army for the purpose of attacking Tangier.

I was invited to my uncle Fenner's to dinner to a haunch of venison I sent him yesterday, yet I did not go, but chose to go to Mr. Rawlinson's, where my uncle Wight and my aunt, and some neighbour couples were at a very good venison pasty. Hither came, after we were set down, a most pretty young lady (only her hands were not white nor handsome), which pleased me well, and I found her to be sister to Mrs. Anne Wight. We were good company, and had a very pretty dinner. But though I drank no wine to-day, yet how easily was I of my own accord stirred up to desire my aunt and this pretty lady (for it was for her that I did it) to carry them to Greenwich and see the pleasure boats. But my aunt would not go, of which since I am much glad.

22nd. About three o'clock this morning I waked with the noise of the rayne, having never in my life heard a more violent shower; and then the catt was lockt in the chamber, and kept a great mewing, and leapt upon the bed, which made me I could not sleep a great while. Then to sleep, and about five o'clock rose, and up to my office, and about 8 o'clock went down to Deptford, and there with Mr. Davis did look over most of his stores; by the same token in the great storehouse, while Captain Badily was talking to us, one from a trap-door above let fall unawares a coyle of cable, that it was 10,000 to one it had not broke Captain Badily's neck, it came so near him, but did him no hurt. I went on with looking and informing myself of the stores with great delight, and having done there, I took boat home again and dined. Then by water to Westminster Hall, and there I hear that old Mr. Hales did lately die suddenly in an hour's time. Here I met with Will Bowyer, and had a promise from him of a place to stand to-morrow at his house to see the show. Thence to my Lord's, and thither sent for Mr. Creed,

and then to his lodgings at Clerke's, the confectioner's, where he did give me a little banquet, and I had liked to have begged a parrot for my wife, but he hath put me in a way to get a better from Steven-ton, at Portsmouth.

23d. Mr. Coventry and I did walk together a great while in the Garden, where he did tell me his mind about Sir G. Carteret's having so much the command of the money, which must be removed. And indeed it is the bane of all our business. He observed to me also how Sir W. Batten begins to struggle and to look after his business. I also put him upon getting an order from the Duke for our inquiries into the Chest, which he will see done. So we parted, and Mr. Creed by appointment being come, he and I went out together, and at an ordinary in Lumbarde Streete dined together, and so walked down to the Styll Yard, and so all along Thames-street, but could not get a boat : I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon, and they would not, it being the day of the Queene's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to White Hall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into White Hall garden, and so to the Bowling-greene, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got ; and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of boats and barges ; and two pageants, one of a King, and another of a Queene, with her Maydes of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily ; and they tell me the Queene is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon came the King and Queene in a barge under a canopy with 10,000 barges and boats, I think, for we could see no water for them, nor discern the King nor Queene. And so they landed at White Hall Bridge, and the great guns on the other side went off. But that

which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castle-maine stood over against us upon a piece of White Hall, where I gluttred myself with looking on her. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another, only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took no notice one of another; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her armes, and dandle it. One thing more; there happened a scaffold below to fall, and we feared some hurt, but there was none, but she of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble. Anon there came one there booted and spurred that she talked long with. And by and by, she being in her haire, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off. But methinks it became her mightily, as every thing else do. The show being over, I went away, not weary with looking on her, and to my Lord's lodgings, where my brother Tom and Dr. Thomas Pepys were to speak with me. So I walked with them in the garden, and was very angry with them both for their going out of towne without my knowledge; but they told me the business, which was to see a gentlewoman for a wife for Tom, of Mr. Cooke's providing, worth 500*l.*, of good education, her name Hobell, and lives near Banbury, demands 40*l.* per annum joynter. Tom likes her, and, they say, had a very good reception, and that Cooke hath been very serviceable therein, and that she is committed to old Mr. Young, of the Wardrobe's, tuition. After I had told them my mind about their folly in going so unadvisedly, I then begun to inquire after the business, and so did give

no answer as to my opinion till I have looked farther into it by Mr. Young. By and by, as we were walking in my Lord's walk, comes my Lord, and he and I had half an hour's private discourse about the discontent of the times, which we concluded would not come to anything of difference, though the Presbyters would be glad enough of it; but we do not think religion will so soon cause another war. Then to his owne business. He asked my advice there, whether he should go on to purchase more land and to borrow money to pay for it, which he is willing to do, because such a bargaine as that of Mr. Buggins's, of Stukely, will not be every day to be had, and Brampton is now perfectly granted him by the King—I mean the reversion of it—after the Queene's death; and, in the meantime, he buys it of Sir Peter Ball his present right. Then we fell to talk of Navy business, and he concludes, as I do, that he needs not put himself upon any more voyages abroad to spend money, unless a war comes; and that by keeping his family awhile in the country, he shall be able to gather money. Here we broke off, and I bid him good night, and so with much ado, the streets being at nine o'clock at night crammed with people going home to the city, for all the borders of the river had been full of people, as the King had come, to a miracle got to the Palace Yard, and there took boat, and so to the Old Swan, and so walked home, and to bed very weary.

24th (Lord's day). Slept till 7 o'clock, which I have not a great while, but it was my weariness last night that caused it. So rose and to my office till church time, writing down my yesterday's observations, and so to church, where I all alone, and found Will Griffin and Thomas Hewett got into the pew next to our backs, where our mayds 'sit, but when I came, they went out; so forward some people are to

outrun themselves. Here we had a lazy, dull sermon. So home to dinner, where my brother Tom came to me, talking about his late journey and his mistress, and for what he tells me it is like to do well. He being gone, I to church again, where Mr. Mills, making a sermon upon confession, he did endeavour to pull down auricular confession, but did set it up by his bad arguments against it, and advising people to come to him to confess their sins when they had any weight upon their consciences, as much as is possible, which did vex me to hear. So home, and walked to my uncle Wight's, the truth is, in hopes to have seen and been acquainted with the pretty lady that came along with them to dinner the other day to Mr. Rawlinson, but she is gone away. But here I staid supper, and much company there was; among others, Dr. Burnett, Mr. Cole the lawyer, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Sutton, a brother of my aunt's, that I never saw before. Among other things they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday Street; a great many young people knotting together and crying out "Porridge"¹ often and seditiously in the church, and they took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away; and, some say, did tear it; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it.

25th. Up early, and away by water to Woolwich (calling in my way in Hamcreeke, where I have never been before, and there found two of the King's ships lie there without any living creature aboard, which troubled me, every thing being stole away that can be), where I staid seeing a cable of 14 inches

¹ "A fanatical nickname for the Common Prayer Book. Sir Walter Scott quotes a curious tract in 'Woodstock,' entitled: 'Vindication of the Book of Common Prayer against the Contumelious Slanders of the Fanatic Party terming it *Porridge*.'"—*Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. viii. p. 486. (M. B.)

laid, in which there was good variety. Then to Mr. Falconer's, and there eat a bit of roast meat off of the spit, and so away to the yarde, and there among other things mustered the yarde, and did things that I perceive people do begin to value me, and that I shall be able to be of command in all matters, which God be praised for. Then to Mr. Pett's, and to Deptford, and so home, where by appointment I found Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Batten, and Mr. Waith met at Sir W. Batten's, and thither I met, and so agreed upon a way of answering my Lord Treasurer's letter. Here I found Mr. Coventry had got a letter from the Duke, sent us for looking into the business of the Chest, of which I am glad. So home and to bed, my mind, God be praised, full of business, but great quiet.

27th. Dined with Sir W. Batten, his Lady being in the country. Among other stories, he told us of the Mayor of Bristoll's reading a pass with the bottom upwards; and a barber that could not read, that flung a letter in the kennel when one came to desire him to read the superscription, saying, "Do you think I stand here to read letters?" This afternoon Mrs. Hunt came to see me, and I did give her a Muske Millon. To-day my hogshead of sherry I have sold to Sir W. Batten, and am glad of my money instead of wine.

29th. Up betimes and among my workmen, finding my presence to carry on the work both to my mind and with more haste. At night, the workmen being gone, I went to my office, and among other businesses did begin to-night with Mr. Lewes to look into the nature of a purser's account, and the business of victualling, in which there is great variety; but I find I shall understand it, and be able to do service there also. So being weary and chilly, being in some fear of an ague, I went home and to bed.

30th. At noon I had news that Sir W. Pen would be in towne from Ireland, which I much wonder at, and it troubled me exceedingly what to do for a lodging, and more what to do with my goods, that are all in his house; but at last I resolved to let them lie there till Monday, and got a lodging upon Tower Hill.

31st (Lord's day). Waked early, but being in a strange house, did not rise till 7 o'clock almost, and so rose and read over my oathes, and to my office, and thence to church. News is brought me that Sir W. Pen is come. Made my monthly accounts, and find myself worth in money about 686*l.* 1*9s.* 2*½d.*, for which God be praised; and indeed greatly I hope to thank Almighty God, who do most manifestly bless me in my endeavours to do the duties of my office, I now saving money, and my expenses being little. My wife is still in the country; my house all in dirt; but my work in a good forwardness, and will be much to my mind at last. In the afternoon to church, and there heard a simple sermon upon David's words, "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the way of the ungodly," &c., and the best of his sermon was the degrees of walking, standing, and sitting, showing how by steps and degrees sinners do grow in wickedness. So to Mr. Rawlinson's, and there supped with him. Our discourse of the discontents that are abroad, among, and by reason of the Presbyters. Some were clapped up to-day, and strict watch is kept in the City by the train-bands, and letters of a plot are taken. God preserve us, for all these things bode very ill.

September 1st. With Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's, this being the first day of our meeting there by the Duke's order; but when we come, we found him going out by coach with his Duchesse, and he told us he was to go abroad with

the Queene to-day (to Durdan's, it seems, to dine with my Lord Barkeley,¹ where I have been very merry when I was a little boy) ; so we went and staid a little at Mr. Coventry's chamber, and I to my Lord Sandwich's, who is gone to wait upon the King and Queene to-day. And so Mr. Paget being there, Will Howe and I and he played over some things of Locke's that we used to play at sea, that pleased us three well, it being the first musique I have heard a great while, so much has my business of late taken me off from all my former delights. So to my office, but missing my key, which I had in my hand just now, makes me very angry and out of order, it being a thing that I hate in others, and more in myself, to be careless of keys, I thinking another not fit to be trusted that leaves a key behind their hole. One thing more vexes me : my wife writes me from the country that her boy plays the rogue there, and she is weary of him, and complains also of her mayde Sarah, of which I am also very sorry. Being thus out of temper, I could do little at my office, but went home and eat a bit, and so to my lodging and to bed.

2nd. To my office, and we met all the morning, and then dined at Sir W. Batten's with Sir W. Pen, and so to my office again all the afternoon, and in the evening wrote a letter to Mr. Cooke, in the country, in behalf of my brother Tom, to his mistress, it being the first of my appearing in it, and if she be as Tom sets her out, it may be well for him.

3rd. To my office, and about 8 o'clock I went over to Redriffe, and walked to Deptford, where I found Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen. Here we staid till noon, and by that time paid off the Breda, and then to dinner at the taverne, where I have obtained that

¹ Lord Berkeley's seat near Epsom.

our commons is not so large as they used to be, which I am glad to see. After dinner by water to the office, and there we met and sold the Weymouth, Successe, and Fellowship hulkes, where pleasant to see how backward men are at first to bid; and yet when the candle is going out, how they bawl and dispute afterwards who bid the most first. And here I observed one man cunninger than the rest that was sure to bid the last man, and to carry it; and inquiring the reason, he told me that just as the flame goes out the smoke descends, which is a thing I never observed before, and by that he do know the instant when to bid last, which is very pretty. In our discourse in the boat Mr. Coventry told us how the Fanatiques and the Presbyters, that did intend to rise about this time, did choose this day as the most auspicious to them in their endeavours against monarchy: it being fatal twice to the King, and the day of Oliver's death. But, blessed be God! all is likely to be quiet, I hope. Dr. Fairbrother tells me, what I heard confirmed since, that it was fully resolved by the King's new Council that an indulgence should be granted the Presbyters; but upon the Bishop of London's speech¹ (who is now one of the most powerful men in England with the King), their minds were wholly turned. And it is said that my Lord Albemarle did oppose him most; but that I do believe is only in appearance. He told me also that most of the Presbyters now begin to wish they had complied, now they see that no Indulgence will be granted them, which they hoped for; and that the Bishop of London hath taken good care that places are supplied with very good and able men, which is the only thing that will keep all quiet. I took him in the taverne at Puddle docke, but neither he nor

¹ Gilbert Sheldon.

I drank any of the wine we called for, but left it, and so after discourse parted, and so by water to White Hall to my Lord's lodgings, where he being to go to Hinchingbroke to-morrow morning, I staid and fiddled with Will. Howe some new tunes very pleasant, and then my Lord came in and I had some kind talk with him, and then to bed with Mr. Moore there.

4th. By water betimes to the Tower and so home, where I shifted myself, being to dine abroad, and so being also trimmed, which is a thing I have very seldom done of late, we met and sat all the morning, and at noon we all to the Trinity House, where we treated, very dearly, I believe, the officers of the Ordnance; where was Sir W. Compton and the Lieutenant of the Tower. We had much and good musique which was my best entertainment. Sir Wm. Compton I heard talk with great pleasure of the difference between the fleet now and in Queene Elizabeth's days; where, in 88, she had but 36 sail great and small, in the world; and ten rounds of powder was their allowance at that time against the Spaniard. After Sir W. Compton and Mr. Coventry, and some of the best of the rest were gone, I grew weary of staying with Sir Williams both, and the more for that my Lady Batten and her crew, at least half a score, came into the room, and I believe we shall pay size for it; but 'tis very pleasant to see her in her haire under her hood, and how by little and little she would fain be a gallant; but, Lord! the company she keeps about her are like herself, that she may be known by them what she is.

5th. Up by break of day, and by water to Woolwich: in my way saw the yacht lately built by our virtuosoes (my Lord Brunkard and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett also) set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan, to try for mastery; and

before they got to Woolwich the Dutch beat them half-a-mile (and I hear this afternoon, that, in coming home, it got above three miles); which all our people are glad of. Here I staid and mustered the yarde and looked into the storehouses, and so walked all alone to Greenwich, and thence by water to Deptford, and there examined some stores. So walked to Redriffe and took boat, and so to Mr. Bland's, the merchant, by invitation; where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave fine gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them; viz.—Sir Job Harvy, Sir John Wolstenholme,¹ Sir John Jacob,² Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir John Harrison, and Sir John Shaw : ³ very good company. And among other pretty discourse, some was of Sir Jerom Bowes, Ambassador from Queene Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia; ⁴ who, because some of the noblemen there would go up the stairs to the Emperor before him, he would not go up till the Emperor had ordered those two men to be dragged downstairs, with their heads knocking upon every stair till they were killed. And when he was come up, they demanded his sword of him before he entered the room. He told them, if they would have his sword, they should have his boots too. And so caused his boots

¹ Sir John Wolstenholme; created a Baronet, 1664. An intimate friend of Lord Clarendon's; and collector outward for the Port of London. Ob. 1679.

² Sir John Jacob of Bromley, Middlesex; created a Baronet, 1664, for his loyalty and zeal for the Royal Family. Ob. 1665-6.

³ Sir John Shaw was created a Baronet in 1665, for his services in lending the King large sums of money during his exile. Ob. 1679-80.

⁴ In 1583: the object of his mission being to persuade the Muscovite to a peace with John, King of Sweden. He was also employed to confirm the trade of the English with Russia; and, having incurred some personal danger, was received with favour on his return by the Queen. He died in 1616. There is a portrait of him in Lord Suffolk's collection at Charlton.

to be pulled off, and his night-gown and night-cap and slippers to be sent for ; and made the Emperor stay till he could go in his night-dress, since he might not go as a soldier. And lastly, when the Emperor in contempt, to show his command of his subjects, did command one to leap from the window down and broke his neck in the sight of our Ambassador, he replied that his mistress did set more by, and did make better use of the necks of her subjects : but said that, to show what her subjects would do for her, he would, and did, fling down his gantlett before the Emperor ; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up, in defence of the Emperor against his Queene : for which, at this very day, the name of Sir Jerom Bowes is famous and honoured there. I this day heard that Mr. Martin Noell is knighted by the King, which I much wonder at ; but yet he is certainly a very useful man.

6th. Lay long, that is, till 6 and past before I rose, so up and to my office. Sir John Minnes, both Sir Williams and I to the Trinity House, where we had at dinner a couple of venison pasties, of which I eat but little, being almost cloyed, having been at five pasties in three days.

7th. To White Hall Chappell, where I heard a good sermon of the Deane of Ely's, upon returning to the old ways, and a most excellent anthem, with symphonys between, sung by Captain Cooke. Home with Mr. Fox and his lady ; and there dined with them. Most of our discourse was what ministers are flung out that will not conform : and the care of the Bishop of London that we are here supplied with very good men. Meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, he took me into Somersett House ; and there carried me into the Queene-Mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our own Queene sitting on her left hand (whom I did never see before) ; and

though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madam Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts,¹ the King's bastard, a most pretty sparke of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and, I hear, the Queenes both of them are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the King, and anon the Duke and his Duchesse; so that, they being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark, and then went away; the King and his Queene, and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts, in one coach and the rest in other coaches. Here were great stores of great ladies, but very few handsome. The King and Queene were very merry; and he would have made the Queene-Mother believe that his Queene was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queene answered, "You lye;" which was the first English word that I ever heard her say: which made the King good sport; and he would have taught her to say in English, "Confess and be hanged." The company being gone I walked home with great content as I can be in for seeing the greatest rarity, and yet a little troubled that I should see them before my wife's coming home, I having made a promise that I would not, nor did I do it industriously and by design, but by chance only.

8th. With Mr. Coventry to the Duke; who, after he was out of his bed, did send for us in; and, when he was quite ready, took us into his closet, and there told us that he do intend to renew the old custom

¹ James, son of Charles II. by Mrs. Lucy Waters; who bore the name of Crofts till he was created Duke of Monmouth in 1662, previously to his marriage with Lady Anne Scot, daughter to Francis, Earl of Buccleuch.

for the Admirals to have their principal officers to meet them once a-week, to give them an account what they have done that week; which I am glad of: and so the rest did tell his Royal Highness that I could do it best for the time past. And so I produced my short notes, and did give him an account of all that we have of late done; and proposed to him several things for his commands, which he did give us, and so dismissed us.

9th. At my office betimes, and at noon Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Mr. Pett and myself by water to Deptford. At the pay of a ship, and dined together on a haunch of good venison boiled, and after dinner returned again to the office, and there met several tradesmen by our appointment to know of them their lowest rates that they will take for their several provisions, for I do resolve to know that, and to buy no dearer, that so when we know the lowest rate, it shall be the Treasurer's fault, and not ours, that we pay dearer. This afternoon Sir John Minnes showed us how I have blinded all his lights, and stopped up his garden doore, which do vex me so much that I could not sleep for the thoughts of my losing the privilege of the leades and other things which in themselves are small and not worth half the trouble. The more fool am I, and I must labour against it for shame, especially I that use to preach up Epictetus's rule of *τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*.

10th. Up and to my house, and there contrived a way how Sir John Minnes shall come into the leades, and yet I save part of the closet I hoped for, which, if it will not please him, I am a mad-man to be troubled at it. To my office, and so to my brother's. I did take occasion to talk seriously alone with Margaret,¹ who I find a very discreet,

¹ His brother's servant. (M. B.)

good woman, and tells me, upon my demand, that her master is a very good husband,¹ and minds his business well, but his fault is that he has not command over his two men, but they do what they list, and care not for his commands, and especially on Sundays they go whither they please, and not to church, which vexes me mightily, and I am resolved to schoole him soundly for it, it being so much unlike my father, that I cannot endure it in myself or him.

11th. To my office, whither my brother Tom, whom I chid sufficiently for yesterday's work. This night Tom came to show me a civil letter sent him from his mistress. I am pleased well enough with the business.

12th. At my office all the morning, Mr. Lewis teaching me to understand the method of making up Purser's accounts, which is very needful for me and very hard. This day, by letters from my father, I hear that Captain Ferrers, who is with my Lord in the country, was at Brampton (with Mr. Creed) to see him; and that a day or two ago, being provoked to strike one of my Lord's footmen, the footman drew his sword, and hath almost cut the fingers of one of his hands off; which I am sorry for: but this is the vanity of being apt to command and strike.

13th. We sat all the morning, and met again in the afternoon to set accounts even between the King and the masters of ships hired to carry provisions to Lisbon.

¹ That is, very frugal, or a good manager. So *husbandry*, "frugality."

"There's *husbandry* in heaven:

Their candles are all out."

SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, act ii. sc. 1.

Or "management:"

"I commit into your hands

The *husbandry* and manage of my house."

Merchant of Venice, act iii. sc. 4. (M. B.)

14th (Lord's day). By water to White Hall, by the way hearing that the Bishop of London had given a very strict order against boats going on Sundays, and as I came back again, we were examined by the masters of the company in another boat ; but I told them who I was. To White Hall chapel, where sermon almost done, and I heard Captain Cooke's new musique. This the first day of having vials and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthem ; but the musique more full than it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before. Thence up into the Queene's presence, and there saw the Queene again as I did last Sunday, and some fine ladies with her ; but, my troth, not many. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's, and find him to have sprained his foot and is lame, but yet hath been at chappell, and my Lady much troubled for one of her daughters that is sick. I dined with them, and a very pretty lady, their kinswoman, with them. My joy is, that I think I have good hold on Sir George and Mr. Coventry.

15th. By water with Sir Wm. Pen to White Hall ; and, with much ado, was fain to walk over the piles through the bridge, while Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes were aground against the bridge, and could not in a great while get through. At White Hall we hear that the Duke of York is gone a-hunting to-day ; and so we returned : they going to the Duke of Albemarle's, where I left them (after I had observed a very good picture or two there).

16th. My wife writes me from the country that she is not pleased there with my father nor mother, nor any of her servants, and that my boy is turned a very rogue. I have 30*l.* to pay to the cavaliers : then a doubt about my being forced to leave all my

business here, when I am called to the court at Brampton; and lastly, my law businesses, which vex me to my heart what I shall be able to do next terme, which is near at hand.

17th. At my office all the morning, and at noon to the Exchange, where meeting Mr. Moore and Mr. Stucky, of the Wardrobe, we to an ordinary to dinner, and after dinner Mr. Moore and I to Paul's school, to wait upon Mr. Crumlum, who we take very luckily, where there was also an old fellow student of Mr. Crumlum's, one Mr. Newell, of whom he made so much, and of me, that the truth is he with kindness did drink more than I believe he used to do, and did begin to be a little impertinent, that though I honour the man, and he do declare abundance of learning and worth, yet I confess my opinion is much lessened of him, and therefore let it be a caution to myself not to love drink, since it has such an effect upon others of greater worth in my own esteem.

18th. At noon Sir G. Carteret, Mr. Coventry, and I by invitation to dinner to Sheriff Maynell's, the great money-man; he, Alderman Backewell, and much noble and brave company, with the privilege of their rare discourse, which is great content to me above all other things in the world. And after a great dinner and much discourse, we took leave. Among other discourses, speaking concerning the great charity used in Catholique countrys, Mr. Ashburnham did tell us, that this last year, there being great want of corne in Paris, and so a collection made for the poor, there was two pearles brought in, nobody knew from whom (till the Queene, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it), which were sold for 200,000 crownes.

19th. Up betimes and to my office, and at 9 o'clock I went alone to Deptford, and there went on

where they left last night to pay Woolwich yarde. After dinner to pay again, and so till 9 at night, my great trouble being that I was forced to begin an ill practice of bringing down the wages of servants, for which people did curse me, which I do not love. At night, after I had eaten a cold pullet, I walked by brave moonshine, with three or four armed men to guard me to Redriffe, it being now a joy to my heart to think of the condition that I am now in, that people should of themselves provide this for me, unspoke to. I hear this walk is dangerous to walk alone by night, and much robbery committed here.

20th. To-night my barber sent me his man to trim me, who did live in King Streete in Westminster lately, and tells me that three or four that I knew in that streete, tradesmen, are lately fallen mad, and some of them dead, and the others continue mad. They live all within a door or two one of another.

21st (Lord's day). Got up betimes and walked to St. James's, and there to Mr. Coventry, and sat an hour with him, talking of business of the office with great pleasure, and I do perceive he do speake his whole mind to me. Thence to the Parke, where by appointment I met my brother Tom and Mr. Cooke, and there spoke about Tom's business, and to good satisfaction. The Queene coming by in her coach, going to her chappell at St. James's (the first time it hath been ready for her), I crowded after her, and I got up to the room where her closet is; and there stood and saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the fryers in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine copes and many other very fine things. I heard their musique too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, what-

ever the matter was. The Queene very devout : but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, tho' a Protestant, did wait upon the Queene to chappell. By and by, after masse was done, a fryer with his cowl did rise up and preach a sermon in Portuguese ; which I not understanding, did go away, and to the King's chappell, but that was done ; and so up to the Queene's presence-chamber, where she and the King was expected to dine : but she staying at St. James's, they were forced to remove the things to the King's presence ; and there he dined alone, and I with Mr. Fox very finely ; but I see I must not make too much of that liberty for my honour sake only, not but that I am very well received.

22nd. Up betimes among my workmen, hastening to get things ready against my wife's coming, and so with Sir J. M., Sir W. B., and Sir W. P., by coach to St. James's, and there with the Duke. I did give him an account of all things past of late. Thence I walked to Greatorex's, and there with him did overlook many pretty things, new inventions, and have bespoke a weather glasse of him. Thence to my Lord Crew's, and dined with the servants, he having dined ; and so, after dinner, up to him, and sat an hour talking with him of publique, and my Lord's private businesses, with much content.

23rd. Sir G. Carteret told me how in most cabarets in France they have writ upon the walls in fair letters to be read, " Dieu te regarde," as a good lesson to be in every man's mind, and have also, as in Holland, their poor's box ; in both which places at the making all contracts and bargains they give so much, which they call God's penny.

24th. To my Lord Crew's, and there dined alone with him, and among other things he do advise me by all means to keep my Lord Sandwich from pro-

ceeding too far in the business of Tangier. First, for that he is confident the King will not be able to find money for the building the Mole; and next, for that it is to be done-as we propose it by the reducing of the garrison; and then either my Lord must oppose the Duke of York, who will have the Irish regiment under the command of Fitzgerald continued, or else my Lord Peterborough, who is concerned to have the English continued, and he, it seems, is gone back again merely upon my Lord Sandwich's encouragement. Thence to Mr. Wotton, the shoemaker's, and there bought a pair of boots, cost me 30s., and he told me how Bird¹ hath lately broke his leg, while he was fencing in "Aglaura," upon the stage, and that the new theatre of all will be ready against terme. So by water home and to my workmen, and so at night till late at my office, inditing a letter from Tom to his mistress upon his sending her a watch for a token, and so home and to supper, and to my lodgings and to bed. It is my content that by several hands to-day I hear that I have the name of good-natured man among the poor people that come to the office.

25th. This evening I sat awhile at Sir W. Batten's with Sir J. Minnes, where I did hear how the woman, formerly nurse to Mrs. Lemon (Sir W. Batten's daughter), her child was torn to pieces by two doggs at Walthamstow this week, and is dead, which is very strange.

27th. Up betimes. We sat all the morning, and in the afternoon I got many jobbs done to my mind, and my wife's chamber put into a good readiness against her coming, which she did at night, for Will did, by my leave to go, meet her upon the road, and at night did bring me word she was come to my

¹ A mistake for Burt. See Oct. 11, 1660.

brother's, by my order. So I went thither to her. Being come, I found her and her mayde and dogg very well, and herself grown a little fatter than she was. I was very well pleased to see her, only I do perceive that there has been falling out between my mother and she, and a little between my father and she; but I hope all is well again, and I perceive she likes Brampton House and seat better than ever I did myself, and tells me how my Lord hath drawn a plot of some alteracions to be made there, and hath brought it up, which I saw and like well. I perceive my Lord and Lady have been very kind to her.

28th (Lord's day). Waked early, and fell talking one with another with great pleasure of my house at Brampton and that here, and other matters. She tells me what a rogue my boy is, and strange things he has been found guilty of, which vexes me, but most of all the unquiett life that my mother makes my father and herself lead through her want of reason. At last I rose, and with Tom to the French Church at the Savoy, where I never was before—a pretty place it is—and there they have the Common Prayer Book read in French, and, which I never saw before, the minister do preach with his hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our Church.

29th (Michaelmas day). This day my oaths for drinking of wine and going to plays are out, and so I do resolve to take a liberty to-day, and then to fall to them again. Up and by coach to White Hall, in my way taking up Mr. Moore, and walked with him, talking a good while about business, in St. James's, and there left him, and to Mr. Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King came also and staid till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. So we parted, and I to Tom's, and there taking up my wife, mayde, dogg, and him, did carry them home, where my wife is much pleased

with my house, and so am I fully. I sent for some dinner and there dined, Mrs. Margaret Pen being by, to whom I had spoke to go along with us to a play this afternoon, and then to the King's Theatre, where we saw "Midsummer's Night's Dream," which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life. I saw, I confess, some good dancing and some handsome women, which was all my pleasure. Thence set my wife down at Madam Turner's, and having delivered Pegg Pen to her father safe, went home, where I find Mr. Deane, of Woolwich, hath sent me the modell he had promised me; but it so far exceeds my expectations, that I am sorry almost he should make such a present to no greater a person; but I am exceeding glad of it, and shall study to do him a courtesy for it.

30th. I to my house to look over my workmen; but good God! how I do find myself by yesterday's liberty hard to be brought to follow business again, but however, I must do it, considering the great sweet and pleasure and content of mind that I have had since I did leave drink and plays, and other pleasures, and followed my business. So to my office, where we sat till noon, and then I to dinner with Sir W. Pen, and while we were at it came my wife to the office, and so I sent for her up, and after dinner we took coach and to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw "The Duchess of Malfy" well performed, but Betterton and Ianthe to admiration. Strange to see how easily my mind do revert to its former practice of loving plays and wine; but this night I have again bound myself to Christmas next, in which I desire God to bless me and preserve me, for under God I find it to be the best course that ever I could take to bring myself to mind my business. I have also made up this evening my monthly ballance, and find that, notwithstanding the loss of

30*l*. to be paid to the loyall and necessitous cavaliers by act of Parliament, yet I am worth about 680*l*., for which the Lord God be praised. My condition at present is this :—I have long been building, and my house to my great content is now almost done. My Lord Sandwich has lately been in the country, and very civil to my wife, and hath himself spent some pains in drawing a plot of some alteracions in our house there, which I shall follow as I get money. As for the office, my late industry hath been such, as I am become as high in reputacion as any man there, and good hold I have of Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, which I am resolved, and it is necessary for me, to maintain by all fair means. Things are all quiett, but the King poor, and no hopes almost of his being otherwise, by which things will go to rack, especially in the Navy. The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But for ought I see they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected. My brother Tom is gone out of towne this day, to make a second journey to his mistress at Banbury, of which I have good expectacions, and pray God to bless him therein. My mind, I hope, is settled to follow my business again, for I find that two days' neglect of business do give more discontent in mind than ten times the pleasure thereof can repair again, be it what it will.

October 2nd. Up and to the office, where we sat till noon, and then to dinner, and Mr. Moore came and dined with me, and after dinner to look over my Brampton papers, which was a most necessary work, though it is not so much to my content as I could wish. I fear that it must be as it can, and not as I would. At night, hearing that there was a play at

the Cockpit (and my Lord Sandwich, who came to town last night, at it), I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private door in a wall, and so crept through a narrow place and came into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queene, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finely dressed. Then we saw "*The Cardinall*,"¹ a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that came in with me into the box, were all Frenchmen that could speak no English, but Lord ! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them that understood both French and English to make her tell them what the actors said.

3rd. At my brother's and Paul's Churchyard, but bought nothing because of my oathe, though I had a great mind to it. At my office, and with my workmen till noon, and then dined with my wife upon herrings, the first I have eat this year. In the evening comes Captain Ferrers. He brought me a letter from my father, that appoints the day for the Court at Brampton to be the 13th of this month ; but I perceive he has kept the letter in his pocket these three days, so that if the day had been sooner, I might have been spilt. So that it is a great folly to send letters of business by any friend that require haste. This night late I had notice that Dekins, the merchant, is dead this afternoon suddenly, for grief that his daughter, my Morena,² who has long been ill, is given over by the Doctors. For both which I am very sorry.

4th. To my office. Among other things examining

¹ A tragi-comedy by James Shirley.

² See note, Jan. 27, 1661-62. (M. B.)

the particulars of the miscarriage of the Satisfaction, sunk the other day on the Dutch coast through the negligence of the pilott.

5th (Lord's day). I to church ; and this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is as any of his coate. Dined with my wife, and then to talk chiefly about her learning to dance against her going next year into the country, which I am willing she shall do. Then to church to a tedious sermon.

6th. Sir W. Pen and I early to St. James's by water, where Mr. Coventry, finding the Duke in bed, and not very well, we did not stay, but to White Hall, and there took boat and down to Woolwich. In our way Mr. Coventry telling us how of late upon enquiry into the miscarriages of the Duke's family, Mr. Biggs, his steward, is found very faulty, and is turned out of his employment. Then we fell to reading of a book which I saw the other day at my Lord Sandwich's, intended for the late King, finely bound up, a treatise concerning the benefit the Hollanders make of our fishing, but whereas I expected great matters from it, I find it a very impertinent [book], and though some things good, yet so full of tautologies, that we were weary of it. At Woolwich we mustered the yarde, and then to the Hart to dinner, and then to the Rope-yard ; thence to Deptford and wakened the officers there ; so walked to Redriffe, and thence to White Hall with Mr. Coventry, and so to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but my Lord was not within, being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's at next door. Home, and there weary went to supper, and then to my office to set down my journall of this day, and so home and to bed.

7th. To my Lord's, and there I left money for

Captain Ferrers to buy me two bands. So towards the New Exchange, and there while my wife was buying things I walked up and down with Dr. Williams, talking about my law businesses.

8th. Up and by water to my Lord Sandwich's, and among other things to my extraordinary joy, he did tell me how much I was beholding to the Duke of York, who did yesterday of his own accord tell him that he did thank him for one person brought into the Navy, naming myself, and much more to my commendation, which is the greatest comfort and encouragement that ever I had in my life, and do owe it all to Mr. Coventry's goodness and ingenuity. I was glad above measure of this. Thence to Mr. Moore, who, I hope, is better than he was, and so home and dined, and all the afternoon busy at my office, and at night by coach to my Lord's again, but he is at White Hall with the King, before whom the puppet plays I saw this summer in Covent-garden are acted this night. Hither this night my scallop,¹ bought and got made by Captain Ferrers' lady, is sent, and I brought it home, a very neat one. It cost me about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$., and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. more I have given him to buy me another. I do find myself much bound to go handsome, which I shall do in linen, and so the other things may be all the plainer. Here I staid playing some new tunes to parts with W. Howe, and, my Lord not coming home, I came home late on foot, my boy carrying a linke, and so eat a bit and to bed, my head full of ordering of businesses against my journey to-morrow, that there may be nothing done to my wrong in my absence.

9th. Up early about my business to get me ready for my journey. But first to the office; where we

¹ A lace band. See October 12th. The word *scallop* was used till recently for a part of a lady's dress embroidered and cut to resemble a scallop shell. (M. B.)

sat all the morning ; and I bid them adieu for a week, having the Duke's leave got me by Mr. Coventry. To whom I did give thanks for my newes yesterday of the Duke's words to my Lord Sandwich concerning me, which he took well ; and do tell me so freely his love and value of me, that my mind is now in as great a state of quiett as to my interest in the office, as I could ever wish to be. Between one and two o'clock got on horseback at our back gate, with my man Will with me, both well-mounted on two grey horses. We got to Ware before night ; and so I resolved to ride on to Puckeridge, which we did, though the way was bad, and the evening dark before we got thither, by help of company riding before us ; and among others, a gentleman that took up at the same inn, the Falcon, with me, his name Mr. Brian, with whom I supped, and was very good company, and a scholar. He tells me, that it is believed the Queene is with child, for that the coaches are ordered to ride very easily through the streets.

10th. Up, and between eight and nine mounted again ; but my feet so swelled with yesterday's pain, that I could not get on my boots, which vexed me to the blood, but was forced to pay 4s. for a pair of old shoes of my landlord's, and so rid in shoes to Cambridge ; the way so good that I got very well thither, and set up at the Beare : and there being spied in the streete passing through the towne my cozen Angier came to me, and I must needs to his house ; and there found Dr. Fairbrother, with a good dinner, a barrel of good oysters, a couple of lobsters, and wine. But, above all, telling me that this day there is a Congregation for the choice of some officers in the University, he after dinner gets me a gowne, cap, and hoode, and carries me to the Schooles, where Mr. Pepper, my brother's tutor, and this day chosen Proctor, did appoint a M.A. to lead me into the

Regent House, where I sat with them, and did vote by subscribing papers thus : “Ego Samuel Pepys eligo Magistrum Bernardum Skelton, (and which was more strange, my old schoolfellow and acquaintance, and who afterwards did take notice of me, and we spoke together), alterum è taxatoribus hujus Academiæ in annum sequentem.” The like I did for one Briggs, for the other Taxor, and for other officers, as the Vice-Proctor (Mr. Covell), for Mr. Pepper, and which was the gentleman that did carry me into the Regent House. This being done, and the Congregation dissolved by the Vice-Chancellor, I did with much content return to my Cozen Angier’s. Thence to Trinity Hall with Dr. John Pepys, who tells me that his brother Roger has gone out of towne to keep a Court ; and so I was forced to go to Impington, to take such advice as my old uncle and his son Claxton could give me. By and by after supper comes in, unlooked for, my cozen Roger, with whom I discoursed largely, and in short he gives me good counsel, but tells me plainly that it is my best way to study a composition with my uncle Thomas, for that law will not helpe us, and that it is but a folly to flatter ourselves, with which though much to my trouble, yet I was well satisfied, because it told me what I am to trust to, and so to bed.

11th. Up betimes, and after a little breakfast, and a very poor one, like our supper, and such as I cannot feed on, because of my she-cozen Claxton’s gouty hands ; and after Roger had carried me up and down his house and orchards, to show me them, I mounted, and rode to Huntingdon, and so to Brampton ; where I found my father and two brothers, my mother and sister. I walked up and down the house and garden, and find my father’s alteracions very handsome. So to dinner, where there being nothing but a poor breast ;

of mutton, and that ill-dressed, I was much displeased, there being Mr. Cooke there, who I invited to come over with my brother thither, and for whom I was concerned to make much of. I told my father and mother of it, and so had it very well mended for the time after, as long as I staid, though I am very glad to see them live so frugally. But now to my business. I found my uncle Thomas come into the country, and do give out great words, and forewarns all our people of paying us rent, and gives out that he will invalidate the Will, it being but conditional, we paying debts and legacies, which we have not done, but I hope we shall yet go through well enough. I settled to look over papers, and then rode to Hinchingbroke (Will with me), and there to my Lady's chamber, but, it being night, staid not long, but drank a cup of ale below, and so home again, and to supper, and to bed.

12th (Lord's day). Made myself fine with Captain Ferrers' lace band, being lothe to wear my own new scallop, it is so fine ; and, after the barber had done with us, to church, where I saw most of the gentry of the parish ; among others, Mrs. Hanbury, a proper lady, and Mr. Bernard and his Lady, with her father, my late Lord St. John,¹ who looks now like a very plain grave man. Mr. Wells preached a pretty good sermon, and they say he is pretty well in his wits again. So home to dinner, and then to Church again. So to supper, but my mind is so full of business that I am no company at all, and then their drink do not please me, till I did send to Goody Stanks for some of her's which is very small and fresh, with a little

¹ Oliver St. John, one of Cromwell's Lords, and Chief Justice ; and therefore, after the Restoration, properly called "My *late* Lord." His third daughter, Elizabeth, by his second wife, daughter of Henry Cromwell of Upwood, Esq., uncle to the Protector, married Mr. John Bernard, who became a Baronet on the death of his father, Sir Robert, in 1666, and was M.P. for Huntingdon. Ob. 1689.

taste of wormewood, which ever after did please me very well. So after supper to bed, getting my brother John to go up with me for discourse sake, while I was making unready.¹

13th. Up to Hinchinbroke, and there with Mr. Shepley, did look over all the house, and I do, I confess, like well of the alteracions, and do like the staircase, but there being nothing to make the outside more regular and moderne, I am not satisfied with it, but do think it to be too much to be laid out upon it. Thence he to St. Ives Market, and I to Sir Robert Bernard's for council, having a letter from my Lord Sandwich to that end. He do promise to put off my uncle's admittance, if he can fairly, and upon the whole do make my case appear better to me than my cozen Roger did. Thence home, and with my father took a melancholy walk to Portholme, seeing the country-mayds milking their coves there, they being there now at grasse, and to see with what mirth they come all home together in pomp with their milke, and sometimes they have musique go before them. So back home again.

14th. Up, and did digest into a method all I could say in our defence, in case there should be occasion, for I hear he will have counsel to plead for him in the Court, and so about nine o'clock to the court at the Lordshipp where the jury was called; and there being vacancies, they would have had my father, in respect to him, to have been one of the Homage, but he thought fit to refuse it, he not knowing enough the customs of the towne. They being sworne and

¹ That is, "undressing." So of the French lords leaping over the walls in their shirts:

"*Alenc.* How now, my lords! what all *unready* so?"

"*Bast.* *Unready!* ay, and glad we 'scaped so well."

SHAKESPEARE, I *Henry VI.*, act ii. sc. i.

See Ben Jonson, "*Bartholomew Fair*," act i. sc. i. (M. B.)

the charge given them, they fell to our business, finding the heire-at-law to be my uncle Thomas ; but Sir Robert did tell them that he had seen how the estate was devised to my father by my uncle's will, according to the custom of the manour, proposing some difficulty about the half-acre of land which is given the heire-at-law according to custome, which did put me into great fear lest it might not be in my uncle's possession at his death. But the steward, as he promised me, did find pretensions very kindly and readily to put off their admittance, by which I find they are much defeated, and if ever, I hope, will now listen to a treaty and agreement with us, at our meeting at London. So they took their leaves of the steward and Court, and went away. So my father and I home with great content to dinner ; my mind now as full against the afternoon business, which we sat upon after dinner at the Court, and did sue out a recovery, and cut off the intayle ; and my brothers there, to join therein. And my father and I admitted to all the lands ; he for life, and I for myself and my heirs in reversion. I did with most compleat joy of mind go from the Court with my father home, and in a quarter of an houre did get on horseback, with my brother Tom, Cooke, and Will, all mounted, and without eating or drinking, take leave of my father, mother, Pall, to whom I did give 10s., but have shown no kindness since I came, for I find her so very ill-natured that I cannot love her, and she so cruel a hypocrite that she can cry when she pleases, and John and I away, calling in at Hinchingbroke, and taking leave in three words of my Lady, and the young ladies ; and so by moonlight most bravely all the way to Cambridge, with great pleasure, whither we came at about nine o'clock, and took up at the Beare.

15th. Waked very early ; and, when it was time,

did call up Will, and we rose, and musique (with a bandore¹ for the base) did give me a levett;² and so we got ready; and while breakfast was providing, I went forth and showed Mr. Cooke King's College Chapel, Trinity College, and St. John's College Library; and that being done, to our inne again: where I met Dr. Fairbrother. He told us how the room we were in was the room where Cromwell and his associated officers did begin to plot and act their mischiefs in these counties. Took leave of all, and begun our journey about nine o'clock, and came to Ware about three o'clock in the afternoon, the ways being every where but bad; but finding our horses in good case, we even made shift to reach London, though both of us very weary. Found all things well, there happening nothing since our going to my discontent in the least degree; which do so please me, that I cannot but bless God for my journey, observing a whole course of succeſſe from the beginning to the end of it.

16th. I rose in good temper, finding a good chimney-piece made in my upper dining-room chamber, and the dining-room wainscoate in a good forwardness. Then to the office. We sat till noon. This afternoon to the Treasury office, where Sir John Minnes and I did stay late paying some money to the men that are saved out of the Satisfaction that

¹ *Bandore*. A musical instrument, very similar in form to a guitar, but whether strung with wires or with catgut, like the lute, we are not told. (M. B.)

² *Levett*. "A blast on the trumpet, probably that by which soldiers are called in the morning."—JOHNSON. From "lever," French.

"First he that led the Cavalcade
Wore a Sow-gelder's Flagellet,
On which he blew as strong a *Levet*
As well-feed Lawyer on his breviate."

Hudibras, II. ii. v. 609. (M. B.)

was lost the other day. The King gives them half-pay, which is more than is used in such cases, for they never used to have any thing, and yet the men were most outrageously discontented, and did rail and curse us till I was troubled to hear it, and wished myself unconcerned therein. Here late, and so home, and at the office set down my journey-journall to this houre, and so shut up my book, giving God thanks for my good successe therein, and so home, and to supper, and to bed. I hear Mr. Moore is in a way of recovery. Sir H. Bennet¹ made Secretary of State in Sir Edward Nicholas's stead; not known whether by consent or not.

17th. This morning Tom comes to me, and I advise him how to deale with his mistress's mother about his giving her a joynture, but I intend to speak with her shortly, and tell her my mind. Then to my Lord Sandwich by water, and told him how well things do go in the country with me, of which he was very glad, and seems to concern himself much for me. To Creed's chamber, and there sat a good while and drank chocolate. Here I am told how things go at Court; that the young men get uppermost, and the old serious lords are out of favour; that Sir H. Bennet, being brought into Sir Edward Nicholas's place, Sir Charles Barkeley is made Privy Purse; a most vicious person, and one whom Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, did tell me that he offered his wife 300*l.* per annum to be his mistress. He also told me that none in Court hath more the King's eare now than Sir Charles Barkeley, and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lady Castlemaine, whose interest is now as great as ever: and that Mrs. Haslerigge, the great beauty, is now brought to bed, and lays it to the King or

¹ Created Baron of Arlington 1663, and Viscount Thetford and Earl of Arlington, 1672; he was also K.G., and Chamberlain to the King. Ob. 1685.

the Duke of York. He tells me also that my Lord St. Albans is like to be Lord Treasurer : all which things do trouble me much.

19th (Lord's day). Put on my first new lace-band ; and so neat it is, that I am resolved my great expence shall be lace-bands, and it will set off any thing else the more. So walked to my brother's, where I met Mr. Cooke, and discoursing with him do find that he and Tom have promised a joynture of 50*l.* to his mistress, and say that I did give my consent that she should be joyntured in 30*l.* per ann. for Sturtlow, and the rest to be made up out of her portion. At which I was stark mad, and very angry the business should be carried with so much folly and against my mind and all reason. I took leave, and to see Mr. Moore, who recovers well ; and his doctor coming to him, one Dr. Merrit, we had some of his very good discourse of anatomy, and other things, very pleasant. I am sorry to hear that the newes of the selling of Dunkirke is taken so generally ill, as I find it is among the merchants ; and other things, as removal of officers at Court, good for worse ; and all things else made much worse in their report among people than they are. And this night, I know not upon what ground, the gates of the City ordered to be kept shut, and double guards every where. Indeed I do find every body's spirit very full of trouble ; and the things of the Court and Council very ill taken ; so as to be apt to appear in bad colours, if there should ever be a beginning of trouble, which God forbid !

20th. In Sir J. Minnes's coach with him and Sir W. Batten to White Hall, where now the Duke is come again to lodge : and to Mr. Coventry's little new chamber there. And by and by up to the Duke, who was making himself ready ; and there young Killigrew did so commend " The Villaine," a new

play made by Tom Porter, and acted only on Saturday at the Duke's house, as if there never had been any such play come upon the stage. The same yesterday was told me by Captain Ferrers ; and this morning afterwards by Dr. Clerke, who saw it. After I had done with the Duke, with Commissioner Pett to Mr. Lilly's, the great painter, who came forth to us ; but believing that I came to bespeak a picture, he prevented us by telling us, that he should not be at leisure these three weeks ; which methinks is a rare thing. And then to see in what pomp his table was laid for himself to go to dinner ; and here, among other pictures, saw the so much desired by me picture of my Lady Castlemaine, which is a most blessed picture ; and one that I must have a copy of. From thence I took my wife by coach to the Duke's house, and there was the house full of company : but whether it was in over-expecting or what, I know not, but I was never less pleased with a play in my life. Though there was good singing and dancing, yet no fancy in the play, but something that made it less contenting was my conscience that I ought not to have gone by my vowe, and, besides, my business commanded me elsewhere. But, however, as soon as I came home I did pay my crowne to the poor's box, according to my vowe, and so no harme as to that is done, but only business lost and money lost, and my old habit of pleasure wakened, which I will keep down the more hereafter, for I thank God these pleasures are not sweet to me now in the very enjoying of them. So by coach home, and after a little business at my office, and seeing Sir W. Pen, who continues ill, I went to bed. Dunkirke, I am confirmed, is absolutely sold ; for which I am very sorry.

21st. To the office, and there all the morning, and in the middle of our sitting my workmen setting about the putting up of my rails upon my leades, Sir

J. Minnes did spy them and fell a-swearing, which I took no notice of, but was vexed, and am still to the very heart for it, for fear it should put him upon taking the closett and my chamber from me. But it is my very great folly to be so much troubled at these trifles, more than at the loss of 100*l.*, or things of greater concernment; but I forget the lesson I use to preach to others of *τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν*. Thence by water with Mr. Smith, to Mr. Lechmore,¹ the Councillor at the Temple, about Field's business; and he tells me plainly that there being a verdict against me, there is no help for it, but it must proceed to judgement. It is 30*l.* damage to me for my joining with others in committing Field to prison, we being not Justices of the Peace in the City, though in Middlesex; this troubled me, but I hope the King will make it good to us. Thence to Mr. Smith, the scrivener, upon Ludgate Hill, to whom Mrs. Butler do committ her business concerning her daughter and my brother. He tells me her daughter's portion is but 400*l.*, at which I am more troubled than before; and they find fault that his house is too little.

22nd. To my Lord Sandwich's, who receives me now more and more kindly, now he sees that I am respected in the world; and is my most noble patron. To Mr. Smith's, and there by appointment met Mrs. Butler, with whom I plainly discoursed and she with me. I find she will give but 400*l.*, and no more, and is not willing to do that without a joynture, which she expects and I will not grant for that portion, and upon the whole I find that Cooke has made great brags on both sides, and so has abused us both. But however we did break off the business wholly, but with great love and kindness between her and

¹ Nicholas Lechmere, knighted and made a Baron of the Exchequer, 1689. Ob. 1701.

me, and would have been glad we had known one another's minds sooner, without being misguided by this fellow to both our shames and trouble. For I find her a very discreet, sober woman, and her daughter, I understand and believe, is a good lady; and if portions did agree, though she finds fault with Tom's house, and his bad imperfection in his speech, I believe we should well agree in other matters. Home, being first trimmed by Benier, who being acquainted with all the players, do tell me that Bet-terton is not married to Ianthe, as they say; but also that he is a very sober, serious man, and studious and humble, following of his studies, and is rich already with what he gets and saves. This night was buried, as I hear by the bells at Barking Church, my poor Morena,¹ whose sicknesse being desperate, did kill her poor father; and he being dead for sorrow, she could not recover, nor desire to live, but from that time do languish more and more, and so is now dead and buried.

24th. Dined with my wife upon a most excellent dish of tripes of my own directing, covered with mustard, as I have heretofore seen them done at my Lord Crew's, of which I made a very great meal, and sent for a glass of wine for myself, and so to see Sir W. Pen, who continues bed-ridden in great pain, and hence to the Treasury to Sir J. Minnes paying off of tickets, and at night home. This noon came to see me and sat with me Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, who tells me how ill things go at Court: that the King do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queene; nor, above all, to such English as she brought over with her, or hath here since, for fear they should tell her how he carries himself to Mrs. Palmer; insomuch that though he has a promise, and is sure of being made her chyrurgeon, he

¹ See note, 27th Jan., 1661-62.

is at a loss what to do in it, whether to take it or no, since the King's mind is so altered and favour to all her dependents, whom she is fain to let go back into Portugall (though she brought them from their friends against their wills with promise of preferment), without doing any thing for them. That her owne physician did tell him within these three days that the Queene do know how the King orders things, and how he carries himself to my Lady Castlemaine and others, as well as any body; but though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy; of which I am very glad. But I pray God keep us in peace; for this, with other things, do give great discontent to all people.

25th. Up and to the office, and there with Mr. Coventry sat all the morning, only we two, the rest being absent or sick. Dined at home with my wife upon a good dish of neats' feet and mustard, of which I made a good meal.

26th (Lord's day). Put on my new Scallop, which is very fine. To church, and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his eares in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpitt, to preach without it. Home and dined, and Mr. Sympson, my joyner that do my dining-room, and my brother Tom with me to a delicate fat pig. Tom takes his disappointment of his mistress to heart; but all will be well again in a little time. Then to church again, and heard a simple Scot preach most tediously. Then to my uncle Wight's to show my fine band and to see Mrs. Margaret Wight, but she was not there. All this day soldiers going up and down the towne, there being an alarme, and many Quakers and others clapped up; but I believe without any reason: only they say in Dorset-

shire there hath been some rising discovered. So after supper home, and then to my study, and making up my monthly account to myself. I find myself, by my expense in bands and clothes this month, abated a little of my last, and that I am worth 679*l*. still; for which God be praised. So home and to bed with quiett mind, blessed be God, but afeard of my candle's going out, which makes me write thus slubberingly.

27th. Up and by water to wait upon the Duke, and walking in the matted Gallery, by and by comes Mr. Coventry and Sir John Minnes, and then to the Duke, and after he was ready, to his closet, where I did give him my usual account of matters. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, who now-a-days calls me into his chamber, and alone did discourse with me about the jealousy that the Court have of people's rising; wherein he do much dislike my Lord Monk's being so eager against a company of poor wretches, dragging them up and down the streete; but would have him rather to take some of the greatest ringleaders of them, and punish them; whereas this do but tell the world the King's fears and doubts. For Dunkirke, he wonders any wise people should be so troubled thereat, and scorns all their talk against it, for that he says it was not Dunkirke, but the other places, that did and would annoy us, though we had that, as much as if we had it not. He also took notice of the new Ministers of State, Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley, their bringing in, and the high game that my Lady Castlemaine plays at Court (which I took occasion to mention as that the people do take notice of), all which he confessed. Afterwards he told me of poor Mr. Spong, that being with other people examined before the King and Council (they being laid up as suspected persons; and it seems Spong is so far thought guilty as that

they intend to pitch upon him to put to the wracke or some other torture), he do take knowledge of my Lord Sandwich, and said that he was well known to Mr. Pepys. But my Lord knows, and I told him, that it was only in matter of musique and pipes, but that I thought him to be a very innocent fellow ; and indeed I am very sorry for him. After my Lord and I had done in private, we went out, and with Captain Cuttance and Bunn did look over their draught of a bridge for Tangier, which will be brought by my desire to our office by them tomorrow. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there walked long with Mr. Creed, and then to the great half-a-crowne ordinary, at the King's Head, near Charing Crosse, where we had a most excellent neat dinner and very high company, and in a noble manner. After dinner he and I into another room over a pot of ale and talked. He showed me our commission, wherein the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Peterborough, Lord Sandwich, Sir G. Carteret, Sir William Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir R. Ford, Sir William Rider, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Povy, myself, and Captain Cuttance, in this order are joyned for the carrying on the service of Tangier, which I take for a great honour to me. He told me what great faction there is at Court ; and above all, what is whispered, that young Crofts is lawful son to the King, the King being married to his mother. How true this is, God knows ; but I believe the Duke of York will not be fooled in this of three crowns. Thence to White Hall, and walked long in the galleries till (as they are commanded to all strange persons), one came to tell us, we not being known, and being observed to walk there four or five houres (which was not true, unless they count my walking there in the morning), he was commanded to ask who we were ; which being told,

he excused his question, and was satisfied. These things speake great fear and jealousys. So to the Exchange; among other things, observing one very pretty Exchange lass, with her face full of black patches, which was a strange sight. At Sir W. Batten's I met with Mr. Mills, who tells me that he could get nothing out of the mayde hard by (that did poyson herself) before she died, but that she did it because she did not like herself, nor anything she did a great while. It seems she was well-favoured enough, but crooked, and this was all she could be got to say, which is very strange.

29th (Lord Mayor's day). Intended to have made me fine, and by invitacion to have dined with the Lord Mayor to-day, but going to see Sir W. Batten this morning, I found Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes going with Sir W. Batten and myself to examine Sir G. Carteret's accounts for the last year, whereupon I settled to it with them all the day long. I received a letter this day from my father, speaking more trouble about my uncle Thomas his business, and of proceeding to lay claim to Brampton and all my uncle left, because it is given conditional that we should pay legacys, which to him we have not yet done, but I hope that will do us no hurt; God help us if it should, but it disquiets my mind. I have also a letter from my Lord Sandwich desiring me upon matters of concernment to be with him early to-morrow morning. Sir G. Carteret, who had been at the examining most of the late people that are clapped up, do say that he do not think that there hath been any great plotting among them, though they have a good will to it; but their condition is so poor, and silly, and low, that they do not fear them at all.

30th. To my Lord Sandwich, who was up in his chamber and all alone, and did acquaint me with his

business ; which was, that our old acquaintance Mr. Wade (in Axe Yard) hath discovered to him 7,000*l.* hid in the Tower, of which he was to have two for discovery ; my Lord himself two, and the King the other three, when it was found ; and that the King's warrant runs for me on my Lord's part, and one Mr. Lee for Sir Harry Bennet, to demand leave of the Lieutenant of the Tower for to make search. After he had told me the whole business, I took leave ; and at noon, comes Mr. Wade with my Lord's letter. So we consulted for me to go first to Sir H. Bennet, who is now with many of the Privy Counsellors at the Tower, examining of their late prisoners, to advise with him when to begin. So I went ; and the guard at the Tower Gate, making me leave my sword at the gate, I was forced to stay so long in the ale-house hard by, till my boy run home for my cloake, that my Lord Mayor that now is, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, with all his company, was gone with their coaches to his house in Minchen Lane. So my cloake being come, I walked thither ; and there, by Sir G. Carteret's means, did presently speak with Sir H. Bennet, who did give me the King's warrant, for the paying of 2,000*l.* to my Lord, and other two to the discoverers. After a little discourse, dinner came in ; and I dined with them. There was my Lord Mayor, my Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Secretary Morris, to whom Sir H. Bennet would give the upper hand ; Sir Wm. Compton, Sir G. Carteret, and myself, and some other company, and a brave dinner. After dinner, Sir H. Bennet did call aside the Lord Mayor and me, and did break the business to him, who did not, nor durst appear the least averse to it, but did promise all assistance forthwith to set upon it. So Mr. Lee and I to our office, and there walked till Mr. Wade and one Evett his guide did come, and W. Griffin,

and a porter with his picke-axes, &c. ; and so they walked along with us to the Tower, and Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Mayor did give us full power to fall to work. So our guide demands a candle, and down into the cellars he goes, inquiring whether they were the same that Baxter¹ alway had. We went into several little cellars, and then went out a-doors to view, and to the Cole Harbour ; but none did answer so well to the marks which was given him to find it by, as one arched vault. Where, after a great deal of council whether to set upon it now, or delay for better and more full advice, to digging we went till almost eight o'clock at night, but could find nothing. But, however, our guides did not at all seem discouraged ; for that they being confident that the money is there they look for, but having never been in the cellars, they could not be positive to the place, and therefore will inform themselves more fully now they have been there, of the party that do advise them. So locking the door after us, we left work to-night, and up to the Deputy Governor (my Lord Mayor, and Sir H. Bennet, with the rest of the company being gone an houre before) ; and he do undertake to keep the key of the cellars, that none shall go down without his privity. But, Lord ! to see what a young simple fantastique coxcombe is made Deputy Governor, would make one mad ; and how he called out for his night-gowne of silk, only to make a show to us ; and yet for half an houre I did not think he was the Deputy Governor, and so spoke not to him about the business, but waited for another man ; at last I broke our business to him ; and he promising his care, we parted. And Mr. Lee and I by coach to White Hall, where I did give my Lord Sandwich an account of our proceed-

¹ For Barkestead, one of the regicides. For his committal to the Tower see 17th March, 1661-62. (M. B.)

ings, and some encouragement to hope for something hereafter. This morning, walking with Mr. Coventry in the garden, he did tell me how Sir G. Carteret had carried the business of the Victuallers' money to be paid by himself, contrary to old practice; at which he is angry I perceive, but I believe means no hurt, but that things may be done as they ought. He expects Sir George should bespatter him privately, in revenge, not openly. Against which he prepares to bedaube him, and swears he will do it from the beginning, from Jersey to this day. And as to his own taking of too large fees or rewards for places that he had sold, he will prove that he was directed to it by Sir George himself among others. And yet he did not deny Sir G. Carteret his due, in saying that he is a man that do take the most pains, and gives himself the most to do business of any man about the Court, without any desire of pleasure or divertisements; which is very true. But which pleased me mightily, he said in these words, that he was resolved, whatever it cost him, to make an experiment, and see whether it was possible for a man to keep himself up in Court by dealing plainly and walking uprightly. In the doing whereof, if his ground do slip from under him, he will be contented; but he is resolved to try, and never to baulke taking notice of any thing that is to the King's prejudice, let it fall where it will; which is a most brave resolution. He was very free with me; and by my troth, I do see more reall worth in him than in most men that I do know. I would not forget two passages of Sir J. Minnes's at yesterday's dinner. The one, that to the question how it comes to pass that there are no boars seen in London, but many sowes and pigs; it was answered, that the constable gets them a-nights. The other, Thos. Killigrew's way of getting to see plays when he was a boy. He

would go to the Red Bull, and when the man cried to the boys, "Who will go and be a devil, and he shall see the play for nothing?" then would he go in, and be a devil upon the stage, and so get to see plays.

31st. Thus ends this month, I and my family in good health, but weary heartily of dirt, but now in hopes within two or three weeks to be out of it. My head troubled with much business, but especially my fear of Sir J. Minnes claiming my bed-chamber of me, but I hope now that it is almost over, for I perceive he is fitting his house to go into it the next week. Then my law businesses for Brampton makes me mad almost, for that I want time to follow them, but I must by no means neglect them. I thank God I have no crosses, but only much business to trouble my mind with. In all other things as happy a man as any in the world, for the whole world seems to smile upon me, and if my house were done that I could diligently follow my business, I would not doubt to do God, and the King, and myself good service. And all I do impute almost wholly to my late temperance, since my making of my vows against wine and plays, which keeps me most happily and contentfully to my business; which God continue! Public matters are full of discontent, what with the sale of Dunkirke, and my Lady Castlemaine, and her faction at Court; though I know not what they would have more than to debauch the king, whom God preserve from it! And then great plots are talked to be discovered, and all the prisons in towne full of ordinary people, taken from their meeting-places last Sunday. But for certain some plots there hath been, though not brought to a head.

November 1st. With Mr. Creed to the Trinity House, to a great dinner there, by invitacion, and much company. It seems one Captain Evans makes

his Elder Brother's dinner to-day. Among other discourses one Mr. Oudant, secretary to the late Princesse of Orange, did discourse of the convenience as to keeping the highways from being deep, by their horses, in Holland (and Flanders where the ground is as miry as ours is), going in their carts and wag-gons as ours in coaches, wishing the same here as an expedient to make the ways better, and I think there is something in it, where there is breadth enough. Thence to my office, sent for to meet Mr. Lee again, from Sir H. Bennet. And he and I, with Wade and his intelligencer and labourers, to the Tower cellars, to make one tryall more; where we staid two or three hours digging, and dug a great deal all under the arches, as it was now most confidently directed, and so seriously, and upon pretended good grounds, that I myself did truly expect to speed; but we missed of all: and so we went away the second time like fools. And to our office; and I by appointment to the Dolphin Taverne, to meet Wade and the other, Captn. Evett, who now do tell me plainly, that he that do put him upon this is one that had it from Barkestead's own mouth, and was advised with by him, just before the King's coming in, how to get it out, and had all the signs told him how and where it lay, and had always been the great confidant of Barkestead even to the trusting him with his life and all he had. So that he did much convince me that there is good ground for what we go about. But I fear it may be that he did find some conveyance of it away, without the helpe of this man, before he died. But he is resolved to go to the party once more, and then to determine what we shall do further.

2nd (Lord's day). Lay long with pleasure talking with my wife, in whom I never had greater content, blessed be God! than now, she continuing with the

same care and thrift and innocence, so long as I keep her from occasions of being otherwise, as ever she was in her life, and keeps the house as well. To church, where Mr. Mills preached a very ordinary sermon, after he had read the service, and shifted himself, as he did the last day. So home to dinner, and then to church, and there being a lazy preacher I slept out the sermon. My wife and I spent a good deal of this evening in reading Du Barta's¹ *Imposture* and other parts which my wife of late has taken up to read, and is very fine as anything I meet with.

3d. To White Hall, to the Duke's; but found him gone a-hunting. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, from whom I receive every day more and more signs of his confidence and esteem of me. Here I met with Pierce the chyrurgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is with child; but though it be the King's, yet her Lord being still in towne, and sometimes seeing of her, though never to eat together or cohabit, it will be laid to him. He tells me also how the Duke of York is smitten in love with my Lady Chesterfield² (a virtuous lady, daughter to my Lord of Ormond); and so much, that the duchesse of York hath complained to the King and her father about it, and my Lady Chesterfield is gone into the country for it. At all which I am sorry; but it is the effect of idlenesse, and having nothing else to employ their great spirits upon. Thence with Mr. Creed and Mr. Moore to Wilkinson's, and there I did give them and Mr. Howe their dinner of roast beef, cost me 5s. At night to my office, and

¹ A French poet. De Thou speaks of him in the most flattering terms. He died 1590, at the age of 46. (M. B.)

² Lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter of James, Duke of Ormond, married Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield. Ob. 1665. Vide "*Mémoires de Grammont*."



QUEEN OF THE ...

did business ; and there came to me Mr. Wade and Evett, who have been again with their prime intelligencer, a woman, I perceive : and though we have missed twice, yet they bring such an account of the probability of the truth of the thing, though we are not certain of the place, that we shall set upon it once more ; and I am willing and hopefull in it. So we resolved to set upon it again on Wednesday morning ; and the woman herself will be there in a disguise, and confirm us in the place.

4th. This morning we had news by letters that Sir Richard Stayner is dead at sea in the *Mary*, which is now come into Portsmouth from Lisbon ; which we are sorry for, he being a very stout seaman.

5th. My Lady Batten did send to speak with me, and told me very civilly that she did not desire, nor hoped I did, that anything should pass between us but what was civil, though there was not the neighbourliness between her and my wife that was fit to be, and so complained of my mayde's mocking of her ; when she called "Nan" to her mayde within her own house, my mayde Jane in the garden overheard her, and mocked her, and of my wife's speaking unhandsomely of her ; to all which I did give her a very respectfull answer, such as did please her, and am sorry indeed that this should be, though I do not desire there should be any acquaintance between my wife and her. But I promised to avoyde such words and passages for the future. So home, and by and by Sir W. Pen did send for me to his bedside, and tell me how really Sir J. Minnes did resolve to have one of my rooms, and that he was very angry and hot, and said he would speak to the Duke. To which, knowing that all this was but to scare me, I did tell him plainly how I did not value his anger more than he did mine, and that I

should be willing to do what the Duke commanded, and I was sure to have justice of him, and that was all I did say to him about it, though I was much vexed, and after a little stay went home; and then telling my wife she did put me into heart, and resolve to offer him to change lodgings, and I believe that that will one way or other bring us to some end in this dispute. At night I called up my mayds, and schooled Jane, who did answer me so humbly and drolly about it, that though I seemed angry, I was much pleased with her and my wife also.

7th. Up and being by appointment called upon by Mr. Lee, he and I to the Tower, to make our third attempt upon the cellar. And now privately the woman, Barkestead's great confidant, is brought, who do positively say that this is the place which he did say the money was hid in, and where he and she did put up the 50,000^l.¹ in butter firkins; and the very day that he went out of England did say that neither he nor his would be the better for that money, and therefore wishing that she and hers might. And so left us, and we full of hope did resolve to dig all over the cellar, which by seven o'clock at night we performed. At noon we sent for a dinner, and upon the head of a barrel dined very merrily, and to work again. But at last we saw we were mistaken; and after digging the cellar quite through, and removing the barrels from one side to the other, we were forced to pay our porters, and give over our expectations, though I do believe there must be money hid somewhere by him, or else he did delude this woman in hopes to oblige her to further serving him, which I am apt to believe. Thence by coach to White Hall, and at my Lord's

¹ Sic in MS. (M. B.)

lodgings, hearing that Mrs. Sarah is married, I did joy her and kiss her, she owning of it; and it seems it is to a cooke. I am glad she is disposed of, for she grows old, and is very painfull,¹ and one I have reason to wish well for her old service to me. Then to my brother's, where my wife, by my order, is to stay a night or two while my house is made clean.

9th (Lord's day). Walked to my brother's, where my wife is, calling at many churches, and then to the Temple, hearing a bit there too, and observing that in the streets and churches the Sunday is kept in appearance as well as I have known it at any time. Then to dinner to my brother's, and after dinner to see Mr. Moore, who is pretty well, and he and I to St. Gregory's, where I escaped a great fall down the staires of the gallery: so into a pew there and heard Dr. Ball make a very good sermon, though short of what I expected, as for the most part it do fall out.

10th. A little to the office, and so with Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and myself by coach to White Hall, to the Duke, who, after he was ready, did take us into his closett. Thither came my Lord General Monk, and did privately talk with the Duke about having the life-guards pass through the City to-day only for show and to fright people, for I perceive there are great fears abroad; for all which I am troubled and full of doubt that things will not go well. He being gone, we fell to business of the Navy. Among other things, how to pay off this fleete that is now come from Portugall; the King of Portugall sending them home, he having no more use for them, which we wonder at, that his condition should be so soon altered. And our landmen also are coming back, being almost starved in that poor country. Having done here I went by my Lord

¹ Painstaking. (M. B.)

Sandwich's, who was not at home, and so to Westminster Hall, where full of terme, and here met with many about business, among others my cozen Roger Pepys, who is all for a composition with my uncle Thomas. Thence to my Lord Crew's, and dined with him and his brother, I know not his name. Where very good discourse. Among others, of France's intention to make a patriarch of his own, independent from the Pope, by which he will be able to cope with the Spaniard in all councils, which hitherto he has never done. My Lord Crew told us how he heard my Lord of Holland¹ say that, being Ambassador about the match with the Queene-Mother that now is, the King of France insisted upon a dispensation from the Pope, which my Lord Holland making a question of, and that he was commanded to yield to nothing to the prejudice of our religion, says the King of France, "You need not fear that, for if the Pope will not dispense with the match, my Bishopp of Paris shall." By and by come in great Mr. Swinfen,² the Parliament-man, who, among other discourse of the rise and fall of familys, told us of Bishopp Bridgeman³ (brother⁴ of Sir Orlando) who lately hath bought a seat anciently of the Levers, and then the Ashtons; and so he hath in his great hall window (having repaired and beautified the house) caused four great places to be left for coates of armes. In one he hath put the Levers, with this motto, "Olim." In another the Ashtons, with this, "Heri." In the next his own, with this, "Hodie." In the fourth nothing but this motto, "Cras nescio cujus." Thence towards my brother's; met with Jack Cole in Fleete

¹ Henry Rich, Earl of Holland.

² John Swinfen, M. P. for Tamworth.

³ John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester.

⁴ Sic in MS. Had Sir Orlando Bridgeman, son of the Bishop of Chester, who died 1642, a brother also a Bishop? (M. B.)

Street. I found him a little conceited, but he had good things in him, and a man may know the temper of the City by him, he being of a general conversation, and can tell how matters go; and upon that score I will encourage his acquaintance. To my brother's, and taking my wife up, carried her to Charing Crosse, and there showed her the Italian motion, much after the nature of what I showed her a while since in Covent Garden. Their puppets here are somewhat better, but their motions not at all. Thence by coach to my Lady's, and, hiding my wife with Sarah below, I went up and heard some musique with my Lord, and afterwards discoursed with him alone, and so good night to him and home. The towne, I hear, is full of discontents, and all know of the King's new bastard by Mrs. Haslerigge,¹ and as far as I can hear will never be contented with Episcopacy, they are so cruelly set for Presbytery, and the Bishoppes carry themselves so high, that they are never likely to gain anything upon them.

11th. All the morning sitting at the office, and then to dinner with my wife, and so to the office again (where a good while Mr. Bland was with me, telling me very fine things in merchandize, which, but that the trouble of my office do cruelly hinder me, I would take some pains in) till late at night. Towards the evening I, as I have done for three or four nights, studying something of Arithmetique, which do please me well to see myself come forward.

12th. By my wife's appointment came two young ladies, sisters, acquaintances of my wife's brother's, who are desirous to wait upon some ladies, and proffer their service to my wife. The youngest, indeed, hath a good voice, and sings very well, besides other good qualitis; but I fear hath been bred up with too great liberty for my family, and I fear

¹ See Oct. 17th, 1662. (M. B.)

greater inconveniences of expenses, and my wife's liberty will follow, which I must study to avoid till I have a better purse; though, I confess, the gentleman, being pretty handsome, and singing, makes me have a good mind to her. Anon I took them by coach and carried them to a friend's of theirs. I walked home, calling a little in Paul's Churchyard, and, I thank God, can read and never buy a book, though I have a great mind to it. So to the Dolphin Taverne near home, by appointment, and there met with Wade and Evett, and have resolved to make a new attempt upon another discovery, in which God give us better fortune than in the other, but I have great confidence that there is no cheat in these people, but that they go upon good grounds, though they have been mistaken in the place of the first. From thence to my office and there made an end, though late, of my collection of the prices of masts for these twelve years to this day, in order to the buying of some of Wood, and I bound it up in painted paper to lie by as a book for future use. So home and to supper and to bed, and a little before and after we were in bed we had much talke and difference between us about my wife's having a woman, which I seemed much angry at, that she should go so far in it without consideration or my being consulted.

13th. Up and began our discontent again and sorely angered my wife, who indeed do live very lonely, but I do perceive that it is want of worke that do make her and all other people think of ways of spending their time worse, and this I owe to my building, that do not admit of her undertaking any thing of worke, because the house has been and is still so dirty. I to my office all the morning and dined with discontent with my wife at noon, and so to my office, and there this afternoon we had our

first meeting upon our commission of inspecting the Chest, and there met Sir J. Minnes, Sir Francis Clerke,¹ Mr. Heath, Attorney of the Dutchy, Mr. Prinn, Sir W. Rider, Captn. Cocke, and myself. Our first work was to read over the Institution, which is a decree in Chancery in the year 1617, upon an inquisition made at Rochester about that time into the revenues of the Chest, which had then, from the year 1588 or 1590, by the advice of the Lord High Admiral and principal officers then being, by consent of the seamen, been settled, paying sixpence per month, according to their wages then, which was then but 10s. which is now 24s. We adjourned to a fortnight hence. So broke up, and I to see Sir W. Pen, who is now pretty well, but lies in bed still; he cannot rise to stand. Then to my office late, and this afternoon my wife in her discontent sent me a letter, which I am in a quandary what to do, whether to read it or not, but I purpose not, but to burn it before her face, that I may put a stop to more of this nature. But I must think of some way, either to find her somebody to keep her company, or to set her to worke, and by employment to take up her thoughts and time. After doing what I had to do I went home to supper, and there was very sullen to my wife, and so went to bed and to sleep (though with much ado, my mind being troubled) without speaking one word to her.

14th. She begun to talk in the morning and to be friends, believing all this while that I had read her letter, which I perceive by her discourse was full of good counsel, and relating the reason of her desiring a woman, and how little charge she did intend it to be to me, so I begun and argued it as full and plain to her, and she to reason it highly to me, to put her

¹ M. P. for Rochester.

away, and take one of the Bowyers if I did dislike her, that I did resolve when the house is ready she shall try her for a while; the truth is, I having a mind to have her come for her musique and dancing. So to my office, where we met this afternoon about answering a great letter of my Lord Treasurer.

15th. All the morning at the office, dined with my wife pleasantly, then among my painters, and by and by went to my Civil Lawyers about my uncle's suit, and so home again and saw my painters make an end of my house this night, which is my great joy, and so to my office and did business till ten at night, and so home and to supper, and after reading part of Bussy d'Ambois, a good play I bought to-day, to bed.

16th (Lord's day). After long talking pleasantly with my wife, up and to church. So home and to dinner. By and by comes Tom, and after a little talke I with him towards his end, but seeing many strangers and coaches coming to our church, and finding that it was a sermon to be preached by a probationer for the Turkey Company, to be sent to Smyrna, I returned thither. And several Turkey merchants filled all the best pews (and some in ours) in the Church, but a most pitiful sermon it was upon a text in Zachariah, and a great time he spent to show whose son Zachary was, and to prove Malachi to be the last prophet before John the Baptist.

17th. To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. At home I found my wife dressing by appointment by her woman that I think is to be, and her other sister being here to-day with her, I took Mr. Creed, that came to dine, to an ordinary, and after dinner home and spent an hour or two till almost dark, talking with my wife, and making Mrs. Gosnell sing; and then, there being no coach to be got, by water to White Hall; but Gosnell not being

willing to go through bridge, we were forced to land and take water again, and put her and her sister ashore at the Temple. I am mightily pleased with her humour and singing. At White Hall by appointment, Mr. Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpitt, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queene, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and "The Scornfull Lady," well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock, and it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home, but could wake nobody at my house, and so were fain to have my boy get through one of the windows, and so opened the door and called up the mayds, and went to supper and to bed.

18th. Up and to the office, and at noon I dined at Sir W. Batten's, Sir John Minnes being here, and he and I very kind, but I every day expect to pull a crow with him about our lodgings. Meeting my uncle Thomas, he and I to my cozen Roger's chamber, and there I did give my uncle him and Mr. Philips to be my two arbiters against Mr. Cole and Punt, but I expect no great good of the matter. Thence walked home, and my wife came home, having been abroad to-day, laying out above 12*l.* in linen, and a copper, and a pot, and bedstead, and other household stuff, which troubles me also, so that my mind to-night is very heavy and divided. Late at my office, drawing up a letter to my Lord Treasurer, which we have been long about.

20th. All the morning sitting at the office, at noon with Mr. Coventry to the Temple to advise about Field's, but our lawyers not being in the way we went to St. James's, and there at his chamber dined, and I am still in love more and more with him for his real worth. After dinner to the Temple, to Mr. Thurland;¹ and thence to my Lord Chief Baron, Sir

¹ Edward Thurland, M. P. for Ryegate, afterwards knighted.

Edward Hale's,¹ and take Mr. Thurland to his chamber, where he told us that Field will have the better of us; and that we must study to make up the business as well as we can, which do much vex and trouble us: but I am glad the Duke is concerned in it.

21st. Within all day long, helping to put up my hangings in my house in my wife's chamber, to my great content. In the afternoon I went to speak to Sir J. Minnes at his lodgings, where I found many great ladies, and his lodgings made very fine indeed. To supper and to bed: this night having first put up a spitting sheet, which I find very convenient. This day come the King's pleasure-boats from Calais, with the Dunkirke money, being 400,000 pistolles.

22nd. This morning, from some difference between my wife and Sarah, her mayde, my wife and I fell out cruelly, to my great discontent. But I do see her so set against the wench,² whom I take to be a most extraordinary good servant, that I was forced for the wench's sake to bid her get her another place, which shall cost some trouble to my wife, however, before I suffer to be. After doing much business at my office I went home and caused a new fashion knocker to be put on my doore, and did other things to the putting my house in order. This day I bought the book of country dances against my wife's woman Gosnell comes, who dances finely; and there meeting Mr. Playford he did give me his Latin songs of Mr. Deering's, which he lately printed. This day Mr. Moore told me that for certain the Queene-Mother is married to my Lord St. Albans, and he is like to

¹ Sir Matthew Hale succeeded Sir Orlando Bridgeman as Chief Baron of the Exchequer (according to Beatson), in 1666: there is consequently some mistake.

² "Wench" originally meant young woman only, without the contemptuous familiarity now annexed to it. (M. B.)

be made Lord Treasurer. Newes that Sir J. Lawson hath made up a peace now with Tunis and Tripoli, as well as Argiers, by which he will come home very highly honoured.

23rd (Lord's day). To church to hear Mr. Mills. In the afternoon to church again, and heard drowsy Mr. Graves. To Sir W. Batten's, and heard how Sir R. Ford's daughter is married to a fellow without friends' consent, and the match carried on and made up at Will Griffin's, our doorkeeper. I talked to my brother to-day, who desires me to give him leave to look after his mistress still; and he will not have me put to any trouble or obligation in it, which I did give him leave to do. I hear to-day how old rich Audley¹ is lately dead, and left a very great estate, and made a great many poor familys rich, not all to one. Among others, one Davis, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, and since a bookseller in Paul's Church Yarde: and it seems do forgive one man 60,000*l.* which he had wronged him of, but names not his name; but it is well known to be the scrivener in Fleete Streete, at whose house he lodged. There is also this week dead a poulterer, in Gracious Streete, which was thought rich, but not so rich, that hath left 800*l.* per annum, taken in other men's names, and 40,000 Jacobs in gold.

24th. Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, going forth toward White Hall, we hear that the King and Duke are come this morning to the Tower to see the Dunkirke money. So we by coach to them, and there went up and down all the magazines with them; but methought it was but poor discourse and frothy that the King's companions (young Killigrew

¹ There is an old Tract called, "The Way to be Rich, according to the Practice of the great Audley, who began with 200*l.* in 1605, and dyed worth 400,000*l.* November, 1662." London, printed for E. Davis, 1662.

among the rest), had with him. We saw none of the money, but Mr. Slingsby¹ did show the King, and I did see, the stamps of the new money that is now to be made by Blondeau's¹ fashion, which are very neat, and like the King. Thence the King to Woolwich, though a very cold day; and the Duke to White Hall, commanding us to come after him; and in his closett, my Lord Sandwich being there, did discourse with us about getting some of this money to pay off the Fleets, and other matters; and then away hence and, it being almost dinner time, I to my Lord Crew's, and dined with him, and had very good discourse, and he seemed to be much pleased with my visits. By coach (my cozen, Thomas Pepys, going along with me) homeward, and I set him down by the way; but, Lord! how he did endeavour to find out a ninepence to clubb with me for the coach, and for want was forced to give me a shilling, and how he still cries "Gad!" and talks of Popery coming on, as all the Fanatiques do, of which I was ashamed.

25th. Up and to the office all the morning, and at noon with the rest, by Mr. Holy, the ironmonger's invitation, to the Dolphin, to a venison pasty, very good, and rare at this time of the year. Great talke among people how some of the Fanatiques do say that the end of the world is at hand, and that next Tuesday is to be the day. Against which, whenever it shall be, good God fit us all.

26th. In the morning to the Temple to my cozen Roger, who now desires that I would excuse him from arbitrating, he not being able to stand for me as he would do, without appearing too high against my uncle Thomas, which will raise his clamour. With this I am very well pleased, for I did desire it, and so I shall choose other counsel. All day long till twelve o'clock at night getting my house in order,

¹ See 9th March, 1662-63. (M. B.)

my wife putting up the red hangings and bed in her woman's chamber, and I my books and all other matters in my chamber and study, which is now very pretty.

27th. At my waking, I found the tops of the houses covered with snow, which is a rare sight, that I have not seen these three years. To the office, where we sat till noon; when we all went to the next house upon Tower Hill, to see the coming by of the Russia Ambassador; for whose reception all the City trained-bands do attend in the streets, and the King's life-guards, and most of the wealthy citizens in their black velvet coats, and gold chains (which remain of their gallantry at the King's coming in), but they staid so long that we went down again to dinner. And after I had dined, I heard they were coming, and so I walked to the Conduit in the Quarrefowr,¹ at the end of Gracious-street and Cornhill; and there (the spouts thereof running very near me upon all the people that were under it) I saw them pretty well go by. I could not see the Ambassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawkes upon their fists to present to the King. But Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at every thing that looks strange. So back to the office, and there we met and sat till seven o'clock, making a bargain with Mr. Wood for his masts of New England.

28th. A very hard frost; which is newes to us after having none almost these three years. By ten o'clock to Ironmongers' Hall, to the funeral of Sir Richard Stayner. Here we were, all the officers of the Navy,

¹ A place where four ways met. Quadrivium.

"Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces *Quadrivio*?"

Juv., *Sat.* i. 63.

So Cairfax, or Carfax, Quatre vois, at Oxford. (M. B.)

and my Lord Sandwich, who did discourse with us about the fishery, telling us of his Majesty's resolution to give 200*l.* to every man that will set out a Busse;¹ and advising about the effects of this encouragement, which will be a very great matter certainly. Here we had good rings, and by and by were to take coach; and I being got in with Mr. Creed into a four-horse coach, which they came and told us were only for the mourners, I went out, and so took this occasion to go home.

29th. To the office; and this morning came Sir G. Carteret to us (being the first time since his coming from France): he tells us, that the silver which he received for Dunkirke did weigh 120,000 weight. To my Lord's, where my Lord and Mr. Coventry, Sir Wm. Darcy,² one Mr. Parham (a very knowing and well-spoken man in this business), with several others, did meet about stating the business of the fishery, and the manner of the King's giving of this 200*l.* to every man that shall set out a new-made English Busse by the middle of June next. In which business we had many fine pretty discourses; and I did here see the great pleasure to be had in discoursing of publique matters with men that are particularly acquainted with this or that business. Having come to some issue, wherein a motion of mine was well received, about sending these invitations from the King to all the fishing-ports in general, with limiting so many Busses to this, and that port, before we know the readiness of subscribers, we parted, and I walked home all the way, in my way calling upon my cozen Turner and Mr. Calthrop at the Temple, for their consent to be my arbitrators, which

¹ A small sea-vessel used by the Hollanders for the herring-fishery.

² Third son of Sir Conyers Darcy, summoned to Parliament as Lord Darcy, 1642.

they are willing to. My wife and I pretty pleasant, for that her brother brings word that Gosnell, which my wife and I in discourse do pleasantly call our Marmotte, will certainly come next weeke without fail, which God grant may be for the best.

30th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and Mr. Mills made a pretty good sermon. Dined alone with my wife to-day with great content, my house being quite clean from top to bottom. In the afternoon I to the French church here in the city, and stood in the aisle all the sermon, with great delight hearing a very admirable sermon, from a very young man, upon the article in our creed, in order of catechisme, upon the Resurrection. Thence home, and to visit Sir W. Pen, who continues still bed-ridden. Here was Sir W. Batten and his Lady, and Mrs. Turner, and I very merry, talking of the confidence of Sir R. Ford's new-married daughter, though she married so strangely lately, yet appears at church as brisk as can be, and takes place of her elder sister, a mayde. Thence home and to supper, and to make up my monthly accounts, and I do find that, through the fitting of my house this month, I have spent in that and kitchen 50*l.* this month; so that now I am worth but 660*l.*, or thereabouts. This being done and fitted myself for the Duke to-morrow, to prayers and to bed. This day I first did wear a muffle, being my wife's last year's muffle, and now I have bought her a new one, this serves me very well. Thus ends this month; in great frost; myself and family all well, but my mind much disordered about my uncle's law business, being now in an order of being arbitrated between us, which I wish to God it were done. I am also somewhat uncertain what to think of my going about to take a woman-servant into my house, in the quality of a woman for my wife. My wife promises it shall cost me nothing but her meat and wages, and

that it shall not be attended with any other expenses, upon which termes I admit of it; for that it will, I hope, save me money in having my wife go abroad on visits and other delights; so that I hope the best, but am resolved to alter it, if matters prove otherwise than I would have them. Publique matters in an ill condition of discontent against the height and vanity of the Court, and their bad payments: but that which troubles most, is the Clergy, which will never content the City, which is not to be reconciled to Bishoppes: the more the pity that differences must still be. Dunkirke newly sold, and the money brought over; of which we hope to get some to pay the Navy: which by Sir J. Lawson's having dispatched the business in the Straights, by making peace with Argier,¹ Tunis, and Tripoli (and so his fleete will also shortly come home), will now every day grow less, and so the King's charge be abated; which God send!

December 1st. Up and by coach with Sir John Minnes and Sir W. Batten to White Hall to the Duke's chamber, where, as is usual, my Lord Sandwich and all of us, after his being ready, to his closett, and there discoursed of matters of the Navy, and here Mr. Coventry did do me the great kindness to take notice to the Duke of my pains in making a collection of all contracts about masts, which have been of great use to us. Thence I to my Lord Sandwich's, to Mr. Moore; and then over the Parke (where I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skeates,² which is a very pretty art), to Mr. Coventry's chamber to St.

¹ The ancient name for Algiers.

"*Prosp.* Where was she born? speak; tell me.

Ari. Sir. in *Argier*."

SHAKESPEARE, *Tempest*, act i. sc. 2. (M. B.)

² Introduced about this time from Holland. The word is derived from the Dutch *schaatsen*. (M. B.)

James's, where we all met to a venison pasty, and were very merry, Major Norwood being with us, whom they did play upon for his surrendering of Dunkirke. Here we staid till three or four o'clock ; and so to the Council Chamber, where there met the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, my Lord Sandwich, Sir Wm. Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Sir R. Ford, Sir W. Rider, myself, and Captain Cuttance, as Commissioners for Tangier. And after our Commission was read by Mr. Creed, who I perceive is to be our Secretary, we did fall to discourse of matters : as, first, the supplying them forthwith with victualls ; then the reducing it to make way for the money, which upon their reduction is to go to the building of the Mole ; and so to other matters, ordered as against next meeting. This done we broke up, and I to the Cockpitt, with much crowding and waiting, where I saw "The Valiant Cidd" acted, a play I have read with great delight, but is a most dull thing acted, which I never understood before, there being no pleasure in it, though done by Betterton and by Ianthe, and another fine wench that is come in the room of Roxalana ; nor did the King or Queene once smile all the whole play, nor any of the company seem to take any pleasure but what was in the greatness and gallantry of the company. Thence to my Lord's, and with a linke walked home by 12 o'clock, knocked up my boy, and put myself to bed.

2nd. Before I went to the office my wife and I had another falling out about Sarah, against whom she has a deadly hate, I know not for what, nor can I see but she is a very good servant. Then to the office, and then to dinner with my wife at home, and after dinner did give Jane a very serious lesson, against we take her to be our chamber-mayde, which I spoke so to her that the poor girle cried and did

promise to be very dutifull and carefull. So to the office, where we sat as Commissioners for the Chest, and so examined most of the old accountants to the Chest about it. This night first put on a wastecoate.

3rd. Called up by Commissioner Pett, and with him by water, much against my will, to Deptford, and after drinking a warm morning draft, with Mr. Wood and our officers measuring all the morning his New England masts, with which sight I was pleased for my information, though I perceive great neglect and indifference in all the King's officers in what they do for the King. That done, to the Globe, and there dined, and so by water with Mr. Pett home again, all the way reading his Chest accounts, in which I did see things which did not please me; as his allowing himself 300*l.* for one year's looking to the business of the Chest, and 150*l.* per annum for the rest of the years. But I found no fault to him himself, but shall when they come to be read at the Board. We did also call at Limehouse to view two Busses that are building, that being a thing we are now very hot upon. Our call was to see what dimensions they are of, being 50 feet by the keel and about 60 tons. Home and did a little business, and so taking Mr. Pett by the way, we walked to the Temple, in our way seeing one of the Russia Ambassador's coaches go along, with his footmen not in liverys, but their country habits; one of one colour and another of another, which was very strange.

5th. Up, it being a snow and hard frost, and being up I did call up Sarah, who do go away to-day or to-morrow. I paid her her wages, and gave her 10*s.* myself, and my wife 5*s.* to give her. The wench cried, and I was ready to cry too, but to keep peace I am content she should go. This being done, I walked towards Guildhall, thither being summoned by the Commissioners for the Lieutenancy; but they

sat not this morning. So meeting in my way W. Swan, I took him to a house thereabouts, and gave him a morning draft of buttered ale ; he telling me much of his Fanatique stories, as if he were a great zealot, when I know him to be a very rogue. But I do it for discourse, and to see how things stand with him and his party ; who I perceive have great expectation that God will not bless the Court nor Church, as it is now settled, but they must be purified. The worst news he tells me, is that Mr. Chetwind is dead, my old and most ingenious acquaintance. He is dead, worth 3000*l.*, which I did not expect, he living so high as he did always and neatly. He hath given W. Symons his wife 300*l.*, and made Will one of his executors. Home, and there I find Gosnell come, who, my wife tells me, is like to prove a pretty companion, of which I am glad, and in the evening do entertain myself with my wife and her, who sings exceeding well, and I shall take great delight in her.

6th. Up and to the office. Dined at home with my wife and Gosnell, my mind much pleased with her, and after dinner sat with them a good while, till my wife seemed to take notice of my being at home now more than at other times. I went to the office, and there till late, and after a song by Gosnell we to bed.

7th (Lord's day). To church this morning with my wife, which is the first time she hath been at church since her going to Brampton, and Gosnell attending her, which was very gracefull. In the afternoon I thought to go to the French church ; but finding the Dutch congregation there, and then finding the French congregation's sermon begun in the Dutch, I returned home, and up to our gallery, where I found my wife and Gosnell, and after a drowsy sermon, we all three to my aunt Wight's, where great store of her usuall company, and here we staid

a pretty while talking, I differing from my aunt, as I commonly do, in our opinion of the handsomeness of the Queene, which I oppose mightily, saying that if my nose be handsome, then is her's, and such like, and so with my wife only to see Sir W. Pen, who is now got out of his bed, and sits by the fire-side.

8th. Up, and carrying Gosnell by coach, set her down at Temple Barr. By the way she was telling me how Balty did tell her that my wife did go every day in the weeke to Court and plays, and that she should have liberty of going abroad as often as she pleased, and many other lies, which I am vexed at, and I doubt the wench did come in some expectation of, which troubles me. Then into the Parke, to see them slide with their skeates, which is very pretty. And so to the Duke's, where the Committee for Tangier met : and here we sat down all with him at a table, and had much good discourse about the business. Home by coach, where I find my wife troubled about Gosnell, who brings word that her uncle, Justice Jiggins, requires her to come three times a week to him, to follow some business that her mother intrusts her withall, and that, unless she may have that leisure given her, he will not have her take any place ; for which we are both troubled, but there is no helpe for it, and believing it to be a good providence of God to prevent my running behind-hand in the world, I am somewhat contented therewith, and shall make my wife so, who, poor wretch, I know will consider of things, though in good earnest the privacy of her life must needs be irksome to her.

9th. After sitting all the morning in hopes to have Mr. Coventry dine with me, he was forced to go to White Hall. After dinner staid within all the afternoon, being vexed in my mind about the going away

of Sarah this afternoon, who cried mightily, and so was I ready to do, and Jane did also, and then anon went Gosnell away, which did trouble me too; though upon many considerations, it is better that I am rid of the charge. All together makes my house appear to me very lonely. My wife and I melancholy to bed.

10th. This morning rose, receiving a messenger from Sir G. Carteret and a letter from Mr. Coventry, one contrary to another, about our letter to my Lord Treasurer, at which I am troubled, but I went to Sir George, and being desirous to please both, I think I have found out a way to do it. So back to the office with Sir J. Minnes, in his coach, but so great a snow that we could hardly pass the streets. Then to the Dolphin, where Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, did treat the Auditors of the Exchequer, Auditors Wood and Beale, and hither came Sir G. Carteret to us. We had a good dinner, cost us 5*l.* and 6*s.*, whereof my share 26*s.*, and after dinner did discourse of our salarys and other matters, which I think now they will allow. Thence home, and there I found our new cook-mayde Susan come, who is recommended to us by my wife's brother, for which I like her never the better, but being a good well-looking lass, I am willing to try, and Jane begins to take upon her as a chamber-mayde.

11th. Up, it being a great frost upon the snow, and we sat all the morning upon Mr. Creed's accounts, wherein I did him some service and some disservice. At noon he dined with me, and we sat all the afternoon together, discoursing of ways to get money, which I am now giving myself wholly up to, and in the evening to my office, concluding all matters concerning our great letter so long in doing to my Lord Treasurer, till almost one in the morning, and

then home with my mind much eased, and so to bed.

12th. From a very hard frost, when I wake, I find a very great thaw, and my house overflown with it, which vexed me.

13th. We sat, Mr. Coventry and I (Sir G. Carteret being gone), and among other things, Field and Stint did come, and received the 41*l.* given him by the judgement against me and Harry Kem; and we did also sign bonds in 500*l.* to stand to the award of Mr. Porter and Smith for the rest: which, however, I did not sign to till I got Mr. Coventry to go up with me to Sir W. Pen; and he did promise me before him to bear his share in what should be awarded, and both concluded that Sir W. Batten would do no less.

14th (Lord's day). To church and then home, and had a neat dinner by ourselves, and after dinner walked to White Hall and my Lord's, and up and down till chappell time, and then to the King's chappell, where I heard the service, and so to my Lord's, and there Mr. Howe and Pagett, the counsellor, an old lover of musique. We sang some Psalms of Mr. Lawes, and played some symphonys between till night, that I was sent for to Mr. Creed's lodging, and there was Captain Ferrers and his lady and W. Howe and I; we supped very well and good sport in discourse. After supper I was sent for to my Lord, with whom I staid talking about his, and my owne, and the publique affairs, with great content, he advising me as to my owne choosing of Sir R. Bernard for umpire in the businesses between my uncle and us, that I would not trust to him upon his direction, for he did not think him a man to be trusted at all; and so bid him good night, and to Mr. Creed's again; Mr. Moore, with whom I intended to have lain, lying physically without sheets; and there, after

some discourse, to bed, and lay ill, though the bed good, my stomach being sicke all night with my too heavy supper.

15th. Up and to my Lord's and thence to the Duke, and followed him into the Parke, where, though the ice was broken and dangerous, yet he would go slide upon his scates, which I did not like, but he slides very well. So back and to his closett, whither my Lord Sandwich comes, and there Mr. Coventry and we three had long discourse together about the matters of the Navy; and, indeed, I find myself more and more obliged to Mr. Coventry, who studies to do me all the right he can in every thing to the Duke. Thence walked a good while up and down the gallerys; and among others, met with Dr. Clerke, who in discourse tells me, that Sir Charles Barkeley's greatness is only his being pimp to the King, and to my Lady Castlemaine. And yet for all this, that the King is very kind to the Queene; who, he says, is one of the best women in the world. Strange how the King is bewitched to this pretty Castlemaine. I walked up and down the gallerys, spending my time upon the pictures, till the Duke and the Committee for Tangier met (the Duke not staying with us), where the only matter was to discourse with my Lord Rutherford,¹ who is this day made Governor of Tangier, for I know not what reasons; and my Lord of Peterborough to be called home; which, though it is said it is done with kindness, yet all the world may see it is done otherwise, and I am sorry to see a Catholicke Governor sent to command there, where all the rest of the officers almost are such already. But God knows what the reason is! and all may see how slippery

¹ Andrew, created Baron Rutherford and Earl of Teviot, 1660; successively Governor of Dunkirk and Tangier, where he was killed by the Moors in 1663.

places all courtiers stand in. Thence home, in my way calling upon Sir John Berkenheade,¹ to speak about my assessment of 42*l.* to the Loyal Sufferers ; which, I perceive, I cannot helpe ; but he tells me I have been abused by Sir R. Ford, which I shall hereafter make use of when it shall be fit. Thence called at the Major-General's, Sir R. Browne, about my being assessed armes to the militia ; but he was abroad ; and so driving through the backside of the Shambles in Newgate Market, my coach plucked down two pieces of beef into the dirt, upon which the butchers stopped the horses, and a great rout of people in the street, crying that he had done him 40*s.* and 5*l.* worth of hurt ; but going down, I saw that he had done little or none ; and so I give them a shilling for it and they were well contented, and so home, and there to my Lady Batten's, who tells me she hath just now a letter from Sir William, how that he and Sir J. Minnes did very narrowly escape drowning on the roade, the waters are so high ; but is well. But, Lord ! what a hypocrite-like face she made to tell it me. Thence to Sir W. Pen and sat long with him in discourse, I making myself appear one of greater action and resolution as to publique business than I have hitherto done, at which he listens, but I know is a rogue in his heart and likes not, but I perceive I may hold up my head, and the more the better, I minding of my business as I have done, in which God do and will bless me. So home and with great content to bed, and talk and chat with my wife while I was at supper, to our great pleasure.

16th. Up and to the office, and thither came Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, and among other business was Strutt's the purser, against Captn.

¹ Sir John Berkenhead, F.R.S., a political author held in some esteem, M.P. for Wilton, 1661, and knighted the following year. Master of the Faculty Office, and Court of Requests. Ob. 1679.

Browne, Sir W. Batten's brother-in-law, but, Lord! though I believe the Captain has played the knave, though I seem to have a good opinion of him and to mean well, what a most troublesome fellow that Strutt is, such as I never did meet with his fellow in my life. His talking and ours to make him hold his peace set my head off akeing all the afternoon with great pain. So to dinner, thinking to have had Mr. Coventry, but he could not go with me; and so I took Capt'n. Murford. Of whom I do hear what the world says of me; that all do conclude Mr. Coventry, and Pett, and me, to be of a knot; and that we do now carry all things before us; and much more in particular of me, and my studiousnesse, &c. to my great content. To White Hall to Secretary Bennet's, and agreed with Mr. Lee to set upon our new adventure at the Tower to-morrow. Thence to my Lord's, and having sat talking with Mr. Moore bewailing the vanity and disorders of the age, I went by coach to my brother's, where I met Sarah, my late mayde, who told me out of good will to me, for she loves me dearly, that I would beware of my wife's brother, for he is begging or borrowing of her and often, and told me of her Scallop whisk,¹ and borrowing of 50s. for Will, which she believes was for him and her father. I do observe so much goodness and seriousness in the mayde, that if she had anything in the world I would commend her for a wife for my brother Tom. After much discourse and her professions of love to me and all my relations, I bade her good night and did kiss her. So by coach home and to my office, did some business, and so home to supper and to bed.

17th. This morning come Mr. Lee, Wade, and Evett, intending to have gone upon our new design to the Tower; but it raining, and the work

¹ See note, 22nd Nov., 1660. (M. B.)

being to be done in the open garden, we put it off to Friday next.

18th. Up to the office, Mr. Coventry and I alone sat till two o'clock, and then he inviting himself to my house to dinner, of which I was proud; but my dinner being a legg of mutton and two capons, they were not done enough, which did vex me; but we made shift to please him, I think; but I was, when he was gone, very angry with my wife and people. This afternoon came my wife's brother and his wife. She is a most little and yet, I believe, pretty old girle, not handsome, nor has anything in the world pleasing, but, they say, she plays mightly well on the Base Violl.

19th. Up and by appointment with Mr. Lee, Wade, Evett, and workmen to the Tower, and with the Lieutenant's leave set them to work in the garden, in the corner against the mayne-guard, a most unlikely place. It being cold, Mr. Lee and I did sit all the day till three o'clock by the fire in the Governor's house; I reading a play of Fletcher's, being "A Wife for a Month," wherein no great wit or language. Having done we went to them at work, and having wrought below the bottom of the foundation of the wall, I bid them give over, and so all our hopes ended; and so went home and to my office, there reading in Sir W. Petty's book, and so home and to bed, a little displeased with my wife, who, poor wretch, is troubled with her lonely life, which I know not how without great charge to help as yet, but I will study how to do it.

20th. Up and had 100*l.* brought me by Prior of Brampton in full of his purchase money for Barton's house and some land. So to the office, and thence with Mr. Coventry in his coach to St. James's, with great content and pride to see him treat me so friendly; and dined with him, and so to White

Hall together; where we met upon the Tangier Commission, and discoursed many things thereon; but little will be done before my Lord Rutherford comes there, as to the fortification or Mole. That done, my Lord Sandwich and I walked together a good while in the matted gallery, he acquainting me with his late enquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and tells me how things stand.¹ And that the first year was worth about 3,000*l.* to him, and the next about as much; so that at this day, if he were paid, it will be worth about 7,000*l.* to him. But it contents me above all things to see him trust me as his confidant: so I bid him good night, he being to go into the country, to keep his Christmas, on Monday next.

21st (Lord's day). To Church, and so home to dinner alone with my wife very pleasant. After dinner to White Hall, and there to chappell, and from thence up stairs, and up and down the house and galleries on the King's and Queene's side, and so through the garden to my Lord's lodgings, where there was Mr. Gibbons, Madge, Mallard, and Pagett; and by and by comes in my Lord Sandwich, and so we had great store of good musique. By and by comes in my simple Lord Chandois,² who (my Lord Sandwich being gone out to Court) began to sing psalms, but

¹ "The Royal Wardrobe occupied the site of the present Wardrobe Court, immediately to the north of the church of St. Andrew's, and gave to the parish the name of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, by which it is still known. This building was erected about the middle of the fourteenth century by Sir John Beauchamp, Knight of the Garter, a son of Guido, Earl of Warwick, by whose heirs it was sold to Edward III. Mr. Malcolm has printed some extracts from the manuscript Account-book, since preserved in the Harleian Collection, of a Keeper of this Wardrobe, from the middle of April to Michaelmas, 1481. The keeper's salary appears to have been £100 per annum, that of his clerk 1*s.* a day, and the wages of the tailors 6*d.* a day each." *The Town*, by Leigh Hunt. (M. B.)

² William, seventh Lord Chandos. Ob. 1676.

so dully that I was weary of it. At last we broke up; and by and by comes in my Lord Sandwich again, and he and I to talk together about his businesses, and so he to bed and I and Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers fell to a cold goose pye of Mrs. Sarah's, heartily, and so spent our time till past twelve o'clock, and then with Creed to his lodgings, and so with him to bed, and slept till

22nd. Six or seven o'clock and so up, and by the fireside read a good part of "The advice to a daughter," which a simple coxcomb has wrote against Osborne, but in all my life I never did nor can expect to see so much nonsense in print. Thence to my Lord's, who is getting himself ready for his journey to Hinchinbroke. My Lord and his people being gone, I walked to Mr. Coventry's chamber, where I found him gone out into the Parke with the Duke, so the boy being there ready with my things, I shifted myself into a riding-habitt, and followed him through White Hall, and in the Parke Mr. Coventry's people having a horse ready for me (so fine a one that I was almost afeard to get upon him, but I did, and found myself more feared than hurt) and followed the Duke, who, with some of his people (among others Mr. Coventry) was riding out. And with them to Hide Parke. Where Mr. Coventry asking leave of the Duke, he bid us go to Woolwich. So he and I to the water-side, and our horses coming by the ferry, we by oars over to Lambeth, and from thence, with brave discourse by the way, rode to Woolwich, where we put in practice my new way of the Call-booke, which will be of great use. Here, having staid a good while, we got up again and brought night home with us and foule weather. Home and presently shifted myself, and so had the barber come; and my wife

and I to read "Ovid's Metamorphoses," which I brought her home from Paul's Churchyard to-night.

23rd. Sat all the morning, and after dinner to make up my accounts with her, and find that my ordinary housekeeping comes to 7*l.* a month, which is a great deal. By and by comes Dr. Pierce, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine's interest at Court increases, and is more and greater than the Queene's; that she hath brought in Sir H. Bennet, and Sir Charles Barkeley; but that the Queene is a most good lady, and takes all with the greatest meekness that may be. He tells me too that Mr. Edward Montagu is quite broke at Court with his repute and purse; and that he lately was engaged in a quarrell against my Lord Chesterfield: but that the King did cause it to be taken up. He tells me, too, that the King is much concerned in the Chancellor's sicknesse, and that the Chancellor is as great, he thinks, as ever he was with the King. He also tells me what the world says of me, "that Mr. Coventry and I do all the business of the office almost:" at which I am highly proud.

24th. Took money in my pocket to pay many reckonings to-day in the towne, as my bookseller's, and paid at another shop 4*l.* 10*s.* for "Stephens's Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ," given to Paul's Schoole. So to my brother's and shoemaker, and so to my Lord Crew's, and dined alone with him. I understand there are great factions at Court, and something he said that did imply a difference like to be between the King and the Duke, in case the Queene should not be with child. I understand, about this bastard.¹ He says, also, that some great man will be aimed at when Parliament comes to sit again; I understand, the Chancellor: and that there is a bill

¹ James Crofts, son of Charles II. by Lucy Waters, soon made Duke of Monmouth. (M. B.)

will be brought in, that none that have been in armes for the Parliament shall be capable of office. And that the Court are weary of my Lord Albemarle and Chamberlin.¹ He wishes that my Lord Sandwich had some good occasion to be abroad this summer which is coming on, and that my Lord Hinchinbroke were well married, and Sydney² had some place at Court. He pities the poor ministers that are put out, to whom, he says, the King is beholden for his coming in, and that if any such thing had been foreseen he had never come in. After this, and much other discourse of the sea, and breeding young gentlemen to the sea, I went away, and homeward met Mr. Creed at my bookseller's in Paul's Church-yard, who takes it ill my letter last night to Mr. Povy, wherein I accuse him of the neglect of the Tangier boats, in which I must confess I did not do altogether like a friend; but however it was truth, and I must owne it to be so, though I fall wholly out with him for it. Thence home and to my office alone to do business, and read over half of Mr. Bland's discourse concerning trade, which (he being no scholler and so knows not the rules of writing) is very good. This evening Mr. Gauden sent me, against Christmas, a great chine of beef and three dozen tongues. I did give 5s. to the man that brought it, and half-a-crowne to the porters. This day also the parish-clerke brought the general bill of mortality, which cost me half-a-crowne more.

25th. Christmas Day. With my boy walked, it being a most brave cold and dry frosty morning, and had a pleasant walk to White Hall, where I intended to have received the Communion with the family, but I came a little too late. So I walked up into the house and spent my time looking over pictures, par-

¹ Edward, Earl of Manchester.

² Lord Sandwich's second son.

ticularly the ships in King Henry the VIIIth's Voyage to Bullen;¹ marking the great difference between their build then and now. By and by down to the chappell again, where Bishopp Morley² preached upon the song of the Angels, "Glory to God on high, on earth peace, and good will towards men." Methought he made but a poor sermon, but long, and reprehending the mistaken jollity of the Court for the true joy that shall and ought to be on these days, particularized concerning their excess in playes and gaming, saying that he whose office it is to keep the gamesters in order and within bounds, serves but for a second rather in a duell, meaning the groome-porter. Upon which it was worth observing how far they are come from taking the reprehensions of a bishopp seriously, that they all laugh in the chappell when he reflected on their ill actions and courses. He did much press us to joy in these publique days of joy, and to hospitality. But one that stood by whispered in my eare that the Bishopp do not spend one groate to the poor himself. The sermon done, a good anthem followed, with vialls, and then the King came down to receive the Sacrament. But I staid not, but calling my boy from my Lord's lodgings, and giving Sarah some good advice, by my Lord's order, to be sober and look after the house, I walked home again with great pleasure, and there dined by my wife's bed-side with great content, having a mess of brave plum-porridge and a roasted pullet for dinner, and I sent for a mince-pie abroad, my wife not being well to make any herself yet.

26th. Up, my wife to the making of Christmas pies all day, being now pretty well again, and I abroad to several places about businesses, among

¹ Boulogne.

² George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, to which see he was translated from Worcester in 1662. Ob. 1684.

others bought a bake-pan in Newgate Market, and sent it home, it cost me 16s. To the Wardrobe. Hither come Mr. Battersby; and we falling into a discourse of a new book of drollery in verse called Hudebras, I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2s. 6d. But when I came to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the warrs, that I am ashamed of it; and by and by meeting at Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18d. Here we dined with many tradesmen that belong to the Wardrobe, but I was weary soon of their company, and broke up dinner as soon as I could, and away, with the greatest reluctancy and dispute (two or three times my reason stopping my sense and I would go back again) within myself, to the Duke's house and saw "The Villaine," which I ought not to do without my wife, but that my time is now out that I did undertake it for. But, Lord! to consider how my natural desire is to pleasure, which God be praised that he has given me the power by my late oathes to curbe so well as I have done, and will do again after two or three plays more. Here I was better pleased with the play than I was at first, understanding the design better than I did. Here I saw Gosnell and her sister at a distance, and could have found it in my heart to have accosted them, but thought it not prudent. Home and found my wife busy among her pies, but angry for some saucy words that her mayde Jane has given her, which I will not allow of, and therefore will give her warning to be gone. As also we are both displeased for some slight words that Sarah, now at Sir W. Pen's, hath spoke of us, but it is no matter. We shall endeavour to joyne the lion's skin to the fox's tail. So to my office, and then to my study and supper and bed. Being also vexed at my boy for his staying playing abroad when sent of errands.

27th. Up, and while I am dressing I sent for my boy's brother, William, that lives in towne here as a groome, to whom and their sister Jane I told my resolution to keep the boy no longer. So to the office, and there Mr. Coventry and I sat till noon, and then I stept to the Exchange, and after dinner with my wife to the Duke's Theatre, and saw the second part of "Rhodes,"¹ done with the new Roxalana;² which do it rather better in all respects for person, voice, and judgment, than the first Roxalana. Not so well pleased with the company at the house to-day, which was full of citizens, there hardly being a gentleman or woman in the house; a couple of pretty ladies by us that made great sport in it, being jostled and crowded by prentices. So home, and I to my study making up my monthly accounts, which is now fallen again to 630*l.* or thereabouts, which not long since was 680*l.*, at which I am sorry, but I trust in God I shall get it up again, and in the meantime will live sparingly.

28th (Lord's day). Up and with my wife to church, and coming out, went out both before my Lady Batten, he not being there, which I believe will vex her. After dinner my wife to church again, and I to the French church, where I heard an old man make a tedious, long sermon, till they were fain to light candles to baptize the children by. Home, and there fell to the renewing my last year's oathes, whereby it has pleased God so much to better myself and practise, and so down to supper, and then prayers and bed.

29th. To Westminster Hall, where I staid reading

¹ "The Siege of Rhodes," a tragi-comedy, in two parts, by Sir Wm. Davenant.

² An actress whose name is unknown, but she had been seduced by the Earl of Oxford, and had recently quitted the stage. For her history, *vide* "Mémoires de Grammont."

at Mrs. Mitchell's shop, and sent for half a pint of sack for her. She told me what I heard not of before, the strange burning of Mr. De Laun, a merchant's house in Loathbury, and his lady (Sir Thomas Allen's¹ daughter) and her whole family; not one thing, dog nor cat, escaping; nor any of the neighbours almost hearing of it till the house was quite down and burnt. How this should come to passe, God knows, but a most strange thing it is! Hither came Jack Spicer to me, and I took him to the Swan, where Mr. Herbert did give me my breakfast of cold chine of pork; and here Spicer and I talked of Exchequer matters, and how the Lord Treasurer² hath now ordered all monies to be brought into the Exchequer, and hath settled the King's revenue, and given to every general expence proper assignments; to the Navy 200,000*l.* and odde. He also told me of the great vast trade of the goldsmiths in supplying the King with money at dear rates. Thence to White Hall, and got up to the top gallerys in the Banquetting House, to see the audience of the Russia Embassadors; which [took place] after long waiting and fear of the falling of the gallery (it being so full, and part of it being parted from the rest, for nobody to come up merely from the weaknesse thereof): and very handsome it was. After they were come in, I went down and got through the croude almost as high as the King and the Embassadors, where I saw all the presents, being rich furs, hawkes, carpets, cloths of tissue, and sea-horse teeth. The King took two or three hawkes upon his fist, having a glove on, wrought with gold, given him for the purpose. The son of one of the Embassadors was in the richest suit for pearl and tissue, that ever I did see, or shall, I believe. After they and all the com-

¹ Sir Thomas Alleyne, Lord Mayor of London, 1660.

² The Earl of Southampton. (M. B.)

pany had kissed the King's hand, then the three Embassadors and the son, and no more, did kiss the Queene's. One thing more I did observe, that the chief Embassador did carry up his master's letters in state before him on high; and as soon as he had delivered them, he did fall down to the ground and lay there a great while. After all was done, the company broke up; and I spent a little while walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two Queenes, and the Duke of Monmouth with his little mistress,¹ which is very little, and like my brother-in-law's wife. Thence I went away, and getting a coach went home and sat late talking with my wife about our entertaining Dr. Clerke's lady and Mrs. Pierce shortly, being in great pain that my wife hath never a winter gowne, being almost ashamed of it, that she should be seen in a taffeta one, when all the world wears moyre; but we could not come to any resolution what to do therein, other than to appear as she is.

30th. Up and to the office, whither Sir W. Pen came, the first time that he has come downstairs since his late great sicknesse of the goute. We with Mr. Coventry sat till noon, then I to the Change ward, to see what play was there, but I liked none of them, and so homeward, and calling in at Mr. Rawlinson's, where he stopped me to dine with him and two East India officers of ships and Howell our turner. With the officers I had good discourse, particularly of the people at the Cape of Good Hope, of whom they of their own knowledge do tell me these one or two things: viz. that they never sleep lying, but always sitting upon the ground, that their speech is not so articulate as ours, but yet they understand one another well, that they paint them-

¹ Lady Anne Scot.

selves all over with the grease the Dutch sell them (who have a fort there) and soot. After dinner drinking five or six glasses of wine, which liberty I now take till I begin my oathe again, I went home and took my wife into coach, and carried her to Westminster; there visited Mrs. Ferrers, and staid talking with her a good while, there being a little, proud, ugly, talking lady there, that was much crying up the Queene-Mother's Court at Somerset House above our own Queene's; there being before her no allowance of laughing and the mirth that is at the other's; and indeed it is observed that the greatest Court now-a-days is there. Thence to White Hall, where I carried my wife to see the Queene in her presence-chamber; and the maydes of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty; though all well dressed in velvet gowns. Thence to my Lord's lodgings, where Mrs. Sarah did make us my Lord's bed, and Mr. Creed being sent for, sat playing at cards till it was late, and so good night, and with great pleasure to bed.

31st. Lay pretty long in bed, and then I up and to Westminster Hall, and so to the Swan, sending for Mr. W. Bowyer, and there drank my morning draft, and had some of his simple discourse. Among other things he tells me how the difference comes between his fair cozen Butler and Collonell Dillon, upon his opening letters of her brother's from Ireland, complaining of his knavery, and forging others to the contrary; and so they are long ago quite broke off. Thence to a barber's and so to my wife, and at noon took her to Mrs. Pierce's by invitacion to dinner, where there came Dr. Clerke and his wife and sister and Mr. Knight, chief chyrurgeon to the King and his wife. We were pretty merry, the two men being excellent company, but I confess I am wedded from

the opinion either of Mrs. Pierce's beauty upon discovery of her naked neck to-day, being undrest when we came in, or of Mrs. Clerke's genius, which I so much admired, I finding her to be so conceited and fantastique in her dress this day and carriage, though the truth is, witty enough. After dinner with much ado the doctor and I got away to follow our business for a while, he to his patients and I to the Tangier Committee, where the Duke of York was, and we staid at it a good while, and thence in order to the despatch of the boats and provisions for Tangier away, Mr. Povy,¹ in his coach, carried Mr. Gauden and I into London to Mr. Bland's, the merchant, where we staid discoursing upon the reason of the delay of the going away of these things a great while. Then to eat a dish of anchovies, and drink wine and syder, and very merry, but above all things pleased to hear Mrs. Bland talk like a merchant in her husband's business very well, and it seems she do understand it and perform a great deal. Thence merry back, Mr. Povy and I to White Hall; he carrying me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King. All the way he talking very ingenuously, and I find him a fine gentleman, and one that loves to live nobly and neatly, as I perceive by his discourse of his house, pictures, and horses. He brought me first to the Duke's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchesse at supper; and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the King and Queene, the Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ones: and after seating themselves, the King takes out the

¹ Thomas Povy, M.P. for Bossiney, 1658, and Treasurer for Tangier. Evelyn mentions his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and he appears, from an ancient plan of Whitehall Palace, to have had apartments there. (M. B.)

Duchesse of York ; and the Duke, the Duchesse of Buckingham ; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine ; and so other lords other ladies : and they danced the Bransle.¹ After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto ;² and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies : very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to country dances ; the King leading the first, which he called for ; which was, says he, "Cuckolds all awry," the old dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vicke's,³ were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queene herself, stand up : and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having staid here as long as I thought fit, to my infinite content,

¹ *Branle*. Espèce de danse de plusieurs personnes, qui se tiennent par la main, et qui se menent tour-à-tour.—*Dictionnaire de l'Académie*.

Bransle, or branle, or brawl, a kind of dance, not unlike a country dance.

"Master, will you win your love with a French *brawl*?"

SHAKESPEARE, *Love's Labour's Lost*, act iii. sc. 1.

It seems that several persons united in this dance, and took hands to perform it, and that it contained some kind of representation of a battle.

"My grave Lord Keeper led the *brawls* ;

The seals and maces danced before him." GRAY.

(M. B.)

² *Coranto*, from correre, Italian, to run. A swift and lively dance.

"And teach lavoltas high, and swift *corantos*."

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry V.*, act iii. sc. 5. (M. B.)

³ Sir Henry de Vic of Guernsey, Bart., had been twenty years Resident for Charles II. at Brussels, and was Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. He died 1672, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His only daughter, Anne Charlotte, married John Lord Fresheville, Baron of Stavely.

it being the greatest pleasure I could wish now to see at Court, I went out, leaving them dancing.

Thus ends this year with great mirth to me and my wife. Our condition being thus:—we are at present spending a night or two at my Lord's lodgings at White Hall. Our home at the Navy-office, which is and hath a pretty while been in good condition, finished and made very convenient. My family is myself and wife, William, my clerke; Jane, my wife's upper mayde, but, I think, growing proud and negligent upon it: we must part, which troubles me; Susan, our cook-mayde, a pretty willing wench, but no good cooke; and Wayneman, my boy, who I am now turning away for his naughty tricks. We have had from the beginning our healths to this day very well, blessed be God! Our late mayde Sarah going from us (though put away by us) to live with Sir W. Pen do trouble me, though I love the wench, so that we do make ourselves a little strange to him and his family for it, and resolved to do so. The same we are for other reasons to my Lady Batten and hers. By my last year's diligence in my office, blessed be God! I am come to a good degree of knowledge therein; and am acknowledged so by all the world, even the Duke himself, to whom I have a good accesse: and by that, and my being Commissioner with him for Tangier, he takes much notice of me; and I doubt not but, by the continuance of the same endeavours, I shall in a little time come to be a man much taken notice of in the world, specially being come to so great an esteem with Mr. Coventry. The only weight that lies heavy upon my mind is the ending the business with my uncle Thomas about my dead uncle's estate, which is very ill on our side, and I fear when all is done I must be forced to maintain my father myself, or spare a good deal towards it out of my own purse, which will be a very

great pull back to me in my fortune. But I must be contented and bring it to an issue one way or other. Publique matters stand thus: The King is bringing, as is said, his family, and Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expence. In the mean time, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do; at least, to be seen to all the world to do so. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being publique, every day, to his great reproach; and his favouring of none at Court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure, as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley; which, good God! put it into his heart to mend, before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it! The Duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at Court, and so dandled by the King, that some doubt, if the King should have no child by the Queene (which there is yet no appearance of), whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son; and that there will be a difference follow upon it between the Duke of York and him; which God prevent! My Lord Chancellor is threatened by people to be questioned, the next sitting of the Parliament, by some spirits that do not love to see him so great: but certainly he is a good servant to the King. The Queene-Mother is said to keep too great a Court now; and her being married to my Lord St. Alban's is commonly talked of; and that they had a daughter between them in France, how true, God knows. The Bishopps are high, and go on without any diffidence in pressing uniformity; and the Presbyters seem silent in it, and either conform or lay down, though without doubt they expect a turn, and would be glad these endeavours of the other Fanatiques would take effect; there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publickly tried at the Old Bayley and hanged. My Lord

Sandwich is still in good esteem, and now keeping his Christmas in the country ; and I in good esteem, I think, as any man can be, with him. Mr. Moore is very sickly, and I doubt will hardly get over his late fit of sickness, that still hangs on him. In fine, for the good condition of myself, wife, family, and estate, in the great degree that it is, and for the public state of the nation, so quiett as it is, the Lord God be praised !

January 1st, 1662-3. To White Hall, where I spent a little time walking among the courtiers, which I perceive I shall be able to do with great confidence, being now beginning to be pretty well known among them. Among other discourse, Mrs. Sarah tells us how the King sups at least four times every week with my Lady Castlemaine ; and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the garden all alone privately, and that so as the very centrys take notice of it and speak of it. She tells me, that about a month ago she [Lady Castlemaine] quickened at my Lord Gerard's¹ at dinner, and cried out that she was undone ; and all the lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to helpe her. In fine, I find that there is nothing almost but bawdry at Court from top to bottom, as, if it were fit, I could instance, but it is not necessary ; only they say my Lord Chesterfield, groom of the stole to the Queene, is either gone or put away from the Court upon the score of his lady's having smitten the Duke of York, so as that he is watched by the Duchesse of York, and his lady is retired into the country upon it. How much of

¹ Charles Lord Gerard of Brandon, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II., and Captain of his Guards ; created Earl of Macclesfield 1679, and died about 1693. His wife, mentioned afterwards, was a French lady, whose name has not been preserved.

this is true, God knows, but it is common talke. After dinner to the Duke's house,¹ where we saw "The Villaine" againe; and the more I see it, the more I am offended at my first undervaluing the play, it being very good and pleasant, and yet a true and allowable tragedy. The house was full of citizens, and so the less pleasant, but that I was to make an end of my gaddings, and to set to my business for all the year again to-morrow. Here we saw the old Roxalana in the chief box, in a velvet gowne, as the fashion is, and very handsome, at which I was glad. So to my office to set down these two or three days' journall, and to close the last year therein, and so that being done, home to supper, and to bed, with great pleasure talking and discoursing with my wife of our late observations abroad.

2nd. To the office, dined at home, and in the afternoon to the Treasury office, where Sir W. Batten was paying off tickets, but so simply and arbitrarily, upon a dull pretence of doing right to the King, but to the wrong of poor people, that I was weary of it. At last we broke up, and I to see Sir W. Pen, who is fallen sicke again. I staid a while talking with him, and so to my office, practising some arithmeticque.

4th (Lord's day). Up and to church, where a lazy sermon, and so home to dinner to a good piece of powdered beef,² but a little too salt. At dinner my wife did propound my having of my sister Pall again to be her woman, since one we must have, hoping that in that quality possibly she may prove

¹ The Duke's Theatre, so called from the Duke of York. The Duke's, or Sir William Davenant's Company, removed in 1662 from Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street, to a new theatre in Portugal Row, or Portugal Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. (M. B.)

² Salted beef. (M. B.)

better than she did before, which I take very well of her, and will consider of it, it being a very great trouble to me that I should have a sister of so ill a nature, that I must be forced to spend money upon a stranger when it might better be upon her, if she were good for anything. After dinner I and she walked, though it was dirty, to White Hall, being much afraid of being seen by anybody, and was, I think, of Mr. Coventry, which so troubled me that I made her go before, and I ever after loitered behind. She to Mr. Hunt's, and I to White Hall Chappell, and then up to walk up and down the house, which now I am well known there, I shall forbear to do, because I would not be thought a lazy body by Mr. Coventry and others by being seen, as I have lately been, to walk up and down doing nothing. So to Mr. Hunt's, and there was most prettily and kindly entertained by him and her, who are two as good people as I hardly know any, and so neat and kind one to another. Here we staid late, and so to my Lord's to bed.

5th. Up and to the Duke, who himself told me that Sir J. Lawson was come home to Portsmouth from the Streights with great renowne among all men, and, I perceive, mightily esteemed at Court by all. The Duke did not stay long in his chamber; but to the King's chamber, whither by and by the Russia Embassadors come; who, it seems, have a custom that they will not come to have any treaty with our or any King's Commissioners, but they will themselves see at the time the face of the King himself, be it forty days one after another; and so they did to-day only go in and see the King; and so out again to the Council-chamber. The Duke returned to his chamber, and so to his closett, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Mr. Coventry, and myself attended him about the busi-

ness of the Navy; and after much discourse and pleasant talke he went away. And I took Sir W. Batten and Captain Allen into the wine cellar to my tenant (as I call him, Serjeant Dalton), and there drank a great deal of variety of wines, more than I have drunk at one time, or shall again a great while, when I come to return to my oathes, which I intend in a day or two. Thence to my Lord's lodging, where Mr. Hunt and Mr. Creed dined with us, and were very merry. And after dinner he and I to White Hall, where the Duke and the Commissioners for Tangier met, but did not do much: my Lord Sandwich not being in towne, nobody making it their business. So up, and Creed and I to my wife again, and after a game or two at cards, to the Cockpitt, where we saw "*Claracilla*,"¹ a poor play, done by the King's house; (but neither the King nor Queene were there, but only the Duke and Duchesse, who did show some impertinent and, methought, unnaturall dalliances there, before the whole world, such as kissing, and leaning upon one another); but to my very little content, they not acting in any degree like the Duke's people. So home (there being here this night Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Martha Batten of our office) to my Lord's lodgings again, and to a game at cards, we three and Sarah, and so to supper and apples and ale, and to bed with great pleasure, blessed be God!

6th (Twelfth Day). Up and Mr. Creed brought a pot of chocolate ready made for our morning draft, and then he and I to the Duke's, but I was not very willing to be seen at this end of the towne, and so returned to our lodgings, and Creed and I to St. Paul's Church-yard, to my bookseller's, and then into St. Paul's Church, and there finding Elborough, my

¹ A tragi-comedy by Thomas Killigrew.

old schoolfellow at Paul's, now a parson, whom I know to be a silly fellow, I took him out and walked with him, making Mr. Creed and myself sport with talking with him, and so sent him away, and thence to the Exchange, where we met with Major Thomson, formerly of our office, who do talk very highly of liberty of conscience, which now he hopes for by the King's declaration, and that he doubts not that if he will give it, he will find more and better friends than the Bishoppes can be to him, and that if he do not, there will many thousands in a little time go out of England, where they may have it. But he says that they are well contented that if the King thinks it good, the Papists may have the same liberty with them. He tells me, and so do others, that Dr. Calamy is this day sent to Newgate for preaching, Sunday was se'nnight, without leave, though he did it only to supply the place; when otherwise the people must have gone away without ever a sermon, they being disappointed of a minister: but the Bishop of London will not take that as an excuse. Thence into Wood Street, and there bought a fine table for my dining-room, cost me 50s.; and while we were buying it, there was a scare-fire¹ in an ally over against us, but they quenched it. After dinner to the Duke's house, and there saw "Twelfth Night" acted well, though it be but a silly play, and not related at all to the name or day. Home and found all well, only myself somewhat vexed at my wife's neglect in leaving of her scarfe, waistcoate, and night-dressings in the coach to-day that brought us from Westminster, though, I confess, she did give them to me to look after. I believe it might be as good as 25s. loss or thereabouts. So to my office to set down my last three days' journall, and writing

¹ *Scar-fire* or *scarefire*. An alarm of fire; the cry, *Fire, fire*; or sometimes, as here, the fire itself. (M. B.)

to my father about my sending him some wine and things this week, for his making an entertainment of some friends in the country, and so home. This night making an end wholly of Christmas, with a mind fully satisfied with the great pleasures we have had by being abroad from home, and I do find my mind so apt to run to its old want of pleasures, that it is high time to betake myself to my late vowes, which I will to-morrow, God willing, perfect and bind myself to, that so I may, for a great while, do my duty, as I have well begun, and increase my good name and esteem in the world, and get money, which sweetens all things, and whereof I have much need. So home to supper and to bed, blessing God for his mercy to bring me home, after much pleasure, to my house and business with health and resolution to fall hard to worke again.

7th. Up pretty early, that is by seven o'clock, it not being yet light before or then. So to my office all the morning, signing the Treasurer's ledger, part of it where I have not put my hand, and then eat a mouthful of pye at home to stay my stomach, and so with Mr. Waith by water to Deptford, and there among other things viewed old pay-books, and found that the Commanders did never heretofore receive pay for the rigging time, but only for seetime, contrary to what Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten told the Duke the other day. I also searched all the ships in the Wett Docke for fire, and found all in good order, it being very dangerous for the King that so many of his ships lie together there. I was among the canvass in stores also, with Mr. Harris, the saylemaker, and learnt the difference between one sort and another, to my great content, and so by water home again, where my wife tells me stories how she hears that by Sarah's going to live at Sir W. Pen's, all our affairs of my family are made

known and discoursed of there and theirs by my people, which do trouble me much, and I shall take a time to let Sir W. Pen know how he has dealt in taking her without our full consent. So to the office, and by and by home to supper, and so to prayers and to bed.

8th. Up pretty early, and sent my boy to the carrier's with some wine for my father, for to make his feast among his Brampton friends this Christmas, and my muffle to my mother, sent as from my wife. But before I sent my boy out, I beat him for a lie he told me. Dined at home; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called "The Adventures of Five Hours," at the Duke's house, being, they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke,¹ I did long to see it; and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower formes, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall, and all possible, not only to be done in the time, but in most other respects very admittable, and without one word of ribaldry; and the house, by its frequent plaudits, did show their sufficient approbation. So home; with much ado in an hour getting a coach home, and now resolving to set up my rest as to plays till Easter, if not Whitsuntide next, excepting plays at Court.

9th. Waking in the morning, my wife begun to speak again of the necessity of her keeping somebody to bear her company; for her familiarity with her other servants is it that spoils them all, and other company she hath none, which is too true, and called

¹ Sir George Tuke of Cressing Temple, in Essex, Mr. Evelyn's cousin. The play was taken from the original of the Spanish poet Calderon.

for Jane to reach her out of her trunk, giving her the keys to that purpose, a bundle of papers, and pulls out a paper, a copy of what, a pretty while since, she had wrote in a discontent to me, which I would not read, but burnt. She now read it, and it was so piquant, and wrote in English, and most of it true, of the retiredness of her life, and how unpleasant it was; that being wrote in English, and so in danger of being met with and read by others, I was vexed at it, and desired her and then commanded her to tear it. When she desired to be excused it, I forced it from her, and tore it, and withal took her other bundle of papers from her, and leapt out of the bed and clapped them into the pocket of my breeches, that she might not get them from me, and having got on my stockings and breeches and gowne, I pulled them out one by one and tore them all before her face, though it went against my heart to do it, she crying and desiring me not to do it, but such was my passion and trouble to see the letters of my love to her, and my Will wherein I had given her all I have in the world, when I went to sea with my Lord Sandwich, to be joyned with a paper of so much disgrace to me and dishonour, if it should have been found by any body. Having torn them all, saving a bond of my uncle Robert's, which she hath long had in her hands, and our marriage license, and the first letter that ever I sent her when I was her servant,¹ I took up the pieces and carried them into my chamber, and there, after many disputes with myself whether I should burn them or no, and having picked up the pieces of the paper she read to-day, and of my Will which I tore, I burnt all the rest, and so went out to my office troubled in mind. Hither comes Major Tolhurst, one of my old acquaintance in Cromwell's time, and sometimes of our clubb, to see me, and I

¹ Lover. (M. B.)

could do no less than carry him to the Mitre, Tolhurst telling me the manner of their collierys in the north. We broke up, and I home to dinner. And to see my folly, as discontented as I am, when my wife came I could not forbear smiling all dinner till she began to speak bad words again, and then I began to be angry, and so to my office. Mr. Bland came in the evening to me hither, and sat talking to me about many things of merchandise, and I should be very happy in his discourse, durst I confess my ignorance to him, which is not so fit for me to do. There coming a letter to me from Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, by my desire appointing his and Dr. Clerke's coming to dine with me next Monday, I went to my wife and agreed upon matters, and at last for my honour am forced to make her presently¹ a new Moyre gowne to be seen by Mrs. Clerke, which troubles me to part with so much money, but, however, it sets my wife and I to friends again, though I and she never were so heartily angry in our lives as to-day almost, and I doubt the heartburning will not be soon over, and the truth is I am sorry for the tearing of so many poor loving letters of mine from sea and elsewhere to her. So to my office again, and there the Scrivener brought me the end of the manuscript which I am going to get together of things of the Navy, which pleases me much. So home, and mighty friends with my wife again, and so to bed.

10th. To the office, and sat till noon, then rose and to dinner, and then to the office again, where Mr. Creed sat with me till late talking very good discourse, as he is full of it, though a cunning knave in his heart, at least not to be too much trusted.

11th (Lord's day). Lay long talking pleasant with my wife, then up and to church, and after a pitifull

¹ forthwith. (M. B.)

sermon of the young Scott, home to dinner. So to my office all the afternoon writing orders myself to have ready against to-morrow, that I might not appear negligent to Mr. Coventry.

12th. To Sir W. Pen's to see Sir J. Lawson, who I heard was there, where I found him the same plain man that he was, after all his success in the Straights, with which he is come loaded home. Thence to Sir G. Carteret, and with him in his coach to White Hall, and first I to see my Lord Sandwich, and after talking a little with him, he and I to the Duke's chamber, where Mr. Coventry and he and I in the Duke's closett and Sir J. Lawson discoursing upon business of the Navy, and particularly got his consent to the ending some difficulties in Mr. Creed's accounts. Thence with Mr. Creed to the King's Head ordinary, but people being set down, we went to two or three places; at last found some meat at a Welch cook's at Charing Crosse, and here dined and our boys. After dinner to the 'Change to buy some linen for my wife, and going back met our two boys. Mine had struck down Creed's boy in the dirt, with his new suit on, and the boy taken by a gentlewoman into a house to make clean, but the poor boy was in a pitifull taking and pickle; but I basted my rogue soundly. Thence to my Lord's lodgings. I found my Lord within, and he and I went out through the garden towards the Duke's chamber, to sit upon the Tangier matters; but a lady called to my Lord out of my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, telling him that the King was there and would speak with him. My Lord could not tell what to bid me say at the Committee to excuse his absence, but that he was with the King; nor would suffer me to go into the Privy Garden (which is now a through-passage, and common), but bid me to go through some other way, which I did; so that I see he is a servant of the King's

pleasures too, as well as business. So I went to the Committee, where we spent all this night attending to Sir J. Lawson's description of Tangier and the place for the Mole, of which he brought a very pretty draught. So to my Lady Batten's, and sat with her awhile; but I did it out of design to get some oranges for my feast to-morrow of her, which I did. So home, and found my wife's new gowne come home, and she mightily pleased with it. But I appeared very angry that there were no more things got ready against to-morrow's feast, and in that passion sat up long, and went discontented to bed.

13th. So my poor wife rose by five o'clock in the morning, before day, and went to market and bought fowles and many other things for dinner, with which I was highly pleased, and the chine of beef was down also before six o'clock, and my own jacke, of which I was doubtfull, do carry it very well. Things being put in order, and the cooke come, I went to the office, where we sat till noon and then broke up, and I home, whither by and by comes Dr. Clerke and his lady, his sister, and a she-cozen, and Mr. Pierce and his wife, which was all my guests. I had for them, after oysters, at first course, a hash of rabbits, a lamb, and a rare chine of beef. Next a great dish of roasted fowle, cost me about 30s., and a tarte, and then fruit and cheese. My dinner was noble and enough. I had my house mighty clean and neat; my room below with a good fire in it; my dining-room above, and my chamber being made a withdrawing-chamber; and my wife's a good fire also. I find my new table very proper, and will hold nine or ten people well, but eight with great room. After dinner the women to cards in my wife's chamber. At night to supper, had a good sacke posset and cold meat, and sent my guests away about ten o'clock at night, both them and myself highly pleased with our

management of this day; and indeed their company was very fine, and Mrs. Clerke a very witty, fine lady, though a little conceited and proud. I believe this day's feast will cost me near 5*l*.

14th. To the office till 10 at night upon business, and numbering and examining part of my sea-manuscript with great pleasure, my wife sitting working by me.

15th. I took Mr. Coventry to dine with me, I having a wild goose roasted, and a cold chine of beef and a barrel of oysters; and then he and I to fit ourselves for horseback, he having brought me a horse; and so to Deptford, the ways being very dirty. There we walked up and down the Yarde and Wett Docke, and did our main business, which was to examine the proof of our new way of the call-bookes, which we think will be of great use. And so I home with his horse, leaving him to go over the fields to Lambeth.

16th. Mr. Battersby, the apothecary, coming to see me, I called for the cold chine of beef and made him eat, and drink wine, and talked, there being with us Captain Brewer, the paynter, who tells me how highly the Presbyters do talk in the coffee-houses still, which I wonder at.

17th. Sat till two o'clock and then home to dinner, and Creed with me, and after dinner I took Creed by coach and to the Duke's playhouse, where we did see "The Five Hours" entertainment again, which indeed is a very fine play, though, through my being out of order, it did not seem so good as at first; but I could discern it was not any fault in the play. Thence with him to the China alehouse, and there drank a bottle or two, and so home.

18th (Lord's day). Up, and after the barber had done I went to church, and thence home to dinner alone with my wife, very pleasant, and after dinner

to church again, and heard a dull, drowsy sermon, and so home and to my office, perfecting my vows again for the next year, which I have now done, and sworn to in the presence of Almighty God to observe upon the respective penalties thereto annexed, and then to Sir W. Pen's, to see how he do, and find him pretty well, and ready to go abroad again.

19th. Up and to White Hall, and while the Duke is dressing himself I went to wait on my Lord Sandwich, whom I found not very well, and Dr. Clerke with him. He is feverish, and hath sent for Mr. Pierce to let him blood. Then to the Duke, and in his closett discoursed as we use to do, and then broke up. That done, I singled out Mr. Coventry into the matted gallery, and there I told him the complaints I meet every day about our Treasurer's or his people's paying no money, but at the goldsmith's shops, where they are forced to pay fifteen or twenty sometimes per cent. for their money, which is a most horrid shame, and that which must not be suffered. Nor is it likely that the Treasurer (at least his people) will suffer Maynell the Goldsmith to go away with 10,000*l.* per annum, as he do now get, by making people pay after this manner for their money. To Mr. Povy's, where really he made a most excellent and large dinner, of their variety, even to admiration, he bidding us, in a frolique, to call for what we had a mind, and he would undertake to give it us: and we did for prawns, swan, venison, after I had thought the dinner was quite done, and he did immediately produce it, which I thought great plenty, and he seems to set off his rest in this plenty and the neatness of his house, which he after dinner showed me, from room to room, so beset with delicate pictures, and above all, a piece of perspective in his closett in the low parler; his stable, where was some most delicate horses, and the very racks painted, and

mangers, with a neat leaden painted cistern, and the walls done with Dutch tiles, like my chimnies. But still, above all things, he bid me go down into his wine-cellar, where upon several shelves there stood bottles of all sorts of wine, new and old, with labells pasted upon each bottle, and in the order and plenty as I never saw books in a bookseller's shop; and herein, I observe, he puts his highest content, and will accordingly commend all that he hath, but still they deserve to be so. Here dined with me Dr. Whore and Mr. Scawen. To my Lord Chancellor's, where the King was to meet my Lord Treasurer, &c., many great men, to settle the revenue of Tangier. I staid talking awhile there, but the King not coming I walked to my brother's. This day, by Dr. Clerke, I was told the occasion of my Lord Chesterfield's going and taking his lady (my Lord Ormond's daughter) from Court. It seems he not only hath been long jealous of the Duke of York, but did find them two talking together, though there were others in the room, and the lady by all opinions a most good, virtuous woman. He, the next day, (of which the Duke was warned by somebody that saw the passion my Lord Chesterfield was in the night before,) went and told the Duke how much he did apprehend himself wronged, in his picking out his lady of the whole Court to be the subject of his dishonour; which the Duke did answer with great calmnesse, not seeming to understand the reason of complaint, and that was all that passed: but my Lord did presently pack his lady into the country in Derbyshire, near the Peake; which is become a proverb at Court, to send a man's wife to the Devil's **** a' Peake, when she vexes him.

21st. Commissioner Pett and I by agreement went to Deptford, and after a turne or two in the yarde, to Greenwich, and thence walked to Woolwich. Here

we did business, and on board the Tangier-merchant, a ship freighted by us, that has long lain on hand in her despatch to Tangier, but is now ready for sailing. Back, and dined at Mr. Ackworth's, where a pretty dinner, and she a pretty, modest woman; but above all things we saw her Rocke, which is one of the finest things done by a woman that ever I saw. I must have my wife to see it. After dinner on board the Elias, and found the timber brought by her from the forest of Deane to be exceeding good. The Captain gave each of us two barrells of pickled oysters put up for the Queene mother. So to the Docke again, and took in Mrs. Ackworth and another gentlewoman, and carried them to London, and at the Globe taverne, in Eastcheap, did give them a glass of wine, and so parted. I home.

22nd. To the office, where Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes are come from Portsmouth. We sat till dinner time. Then home, and Mr. Dixon by agreement came to dine, to give me an account of his success with Mr. Wheatly for his daughter for my brother; and in short it is, that his daughter cannot fancy my brother because of his imperfection in his speech, which I am sorry for, but there the business must die, and we must look out for another. There came in also Mrs. Lodum, with an answer from her brother Ashwell's daughter, who is likely to come to me, and with her my wife's brother, and I carried Commissioner Pett in with me, so I feared want of victuals, but I had a good dinner, and mirth, and so rose and broke up, and with the rest of the officers to Mr. Russell's buriall, where we had wine and rings, and a great and good company of aldermen and the livery of the Skinners' Company. We went to St. Dunstan's in the East church, where a sermon, but I staid not. So to my Lord's, and there find him not sicke, but expecting his fit to-night of an ague. Here

we were very busy about getting provisions sent forthwith to Tangier.

23rd. Up and hastened Mr. Creed in despatching some business relating to Tangier, and I away, hearing that my Lord had a bad fit. Thence to Mr. Grant, and he and I to a coffee-house, where Sir J. Cutler¹ was; and he did fully make it out that the trade of England is as great as ever it was, only in more hands; and that of all trades there is a greater number than ever there was, by reason of men taking more 'prentices, because of their having more money than heretofore. His discourse was well worth hearing. Coming by Temple Bar I bought "Audley's Way to be Rich,"² a serious pamphlett, and some good things worth my minding. Thence homewards, and meeting Sir W. Batten, turned back again to a coffee-house, and there drunk more and hear much discourse, but little to be learned, but of a design in the north of a rising, which is discovered, among some men of condition, and they sent for up. Thence to the 'Change, and so to dinner to Sir W. Batten's to a cod's head, and so to my office, and after stopping to see Sir W. Pen where was Sir J. Lawson and his lady and daughter, which is pretty enough, I came back, and there set to business pretty late, finishing the margenting my Navy-Manuscript. So home and to bed.

24th. To the office all the morning, then to the Exchange to look out for a ship for Tangier. So to dinner at home; and then down to Redriffe, to see a ship hired for Tangier, and found her ready to sail.

25th (Lord's day). Lay till 9 a-bed, then up, and being trimmed by the barber, I walked towards White Hall, calling upon Mr. Moore, whom I found still very ill of his ague. I discoursed with him

¹ Citizen and Grocer, stigmatized by Pope for his avarice.

² Vide note, 23rd November, 1662.

about my Lord's estate against I speak with my Lord this day. Thence to the King's Head ordinary at Charing Crosse, and sent for Mr. Creed, where we dined very finely and good company, good discourse. I understand the King of France is upon consulting his divines upon the old question, what the power of the Pope is? and do intend to make war against him, unless he do right him for the wrong his Embassador received; and banish the Cardinall Imperiall, by which I understand this day is not meant the Cardinall belonging or chosen by the Emperour, but the name of his family is Imperiali. Thence to walk in the Parke, which we did two hours. Our discourse upon the rise of most men that we know, and observing them to be the results of chance, not policy, in any of them, particularly Sir J. Lawson's, from his declaring against Charles Stuart in the river of Thames, and for the Rump. Thence to my Lord, who had his ague fit last night, but is now pretty well, and I staid talking with him an houre alone in his chamber, about sundry publique and private matters. Among others, he wonders what the project should be of the Duke's going down to Portsmouth again now with his Lady, at this time of the year: it being no way, we think, to increase his popularity, which is not great; nor yet safe to do it, for that reason, if it would have any such effect. Captn. Ferrers tells me of my Lady Castlemaine's and Sir Charles Barkeley being the great favourites at Court, and growing every day more and more so; and that upon a late dispute between my Lord Chesterfield, that is the Queene's Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu, her Master of the Horse, who should have the precedence in taking the Queene's upperhand abroad out of the house, which Mr. Montagu challenges, it was given to my Lord Chesterfield. So that I perceive he goes down the

wind in honour as well as every thing else, every day. So walk to my brother's and talked with him, who tells me that this day a messenger is come, that tells us how Collonel Honiwood, who was well yesterday at Canterbury, was flung by his horse in getting up, and broke his scull, and so is dead.

26th. Up and by water with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, drinking a glasse of wormewood wine at the Stillyard, and so up to the Duke, and with the rest of the officers did our common service; thence to my Lord Sandwich's, but he was in bed, and had a bad fit last night, and so I went to Westminster Hall, it being Terme time, it troubling me to think that I should have any business there to trouble myself and thoughts with. Here I met with Monsieur Raby, who is lately come from France. He tells me that my Lord Hinchingbroke and his brother do little improve there, and are much neglected in their habits and other things; but I do believe he hath a mind to go over as their tutour, and so I am not apt to believe what he says therein. But I had a great deal of very good discourse with him, concerning the difference between the French and the Pope, and the occasion, which he told me very particularly, and to my great content; and of most of the chief affairs of France, which I did enquire: and that the King is a most excellent Prince, doing all business himself; and that it is true he hath a mistresse, Mademoiselle La Valiere, one of the Princess Henriette's women, that he courts for his pleasure every other day, but not so as to make him neglect his publique affairs. He tells me how the King do carry himself nobly to the relations of the dead Cardinall,¹ and will not suffer one pasquill to come forth against him; and that he acts

¹ Cardinal Mazarine.

Send Raffle
to the people



MADONNA DA VENEZIA



by what directions he received from him before his death. Having discoursed long with him, I went and dined at Mr. Povy's, and had just such another dinner as I had the other day there. But above all things I do the most admire his piece of perspective especially, he opening me the closett door, and there I saw that there is nothing but only a plain picture hung upon the wall. After dinner Mr. Gauden and I to settle the business of the Tangier victualling, which I perceive none of them yet have hitherto understood but myself. Thence by coach to White Hall, and met upon the Tangier Commission, our greatest business the discoursing of getting things ready for my Lord Rutherford to go about the middle of March next. So by coach home, being melancholy, overcharged with business, and methinks I fear that I have some ill offices done to Mr. Coventry. I believe that Sir W. Batten has made him believe that I do too much crow upon having his kindness.

27th. I have news this day from Cambridge that my brother hath had his bachelor's cap put on ; but that which troubles me is, that he hath the pain of the stone, it beginning just as mine did.

28th. To my Lord Sandwich's, whom I find missing his ague fit to-day, and is pretty well, playing at dice, and by this means I see how time and example may alter a man ; he being now acquainted with all sorts of pleasures and vanities, which heretofore he never thought of nor loved, nor, it may be, hath allowed, with Ned Pickering and his page Loud. Thence to the Temple to my cozen Roger Pepys, and thence to Serjt. Bernard to advise with him and retain him against my uncle, my heart and head being very heavy with the business. Thence to Wotton's, the shoemaker, and there bought another pair of new boots, and here I drank with him and

his wife, a pretty woman, they broaching a vessel of syder a-purpose for me. So home, and there found my wife come home, and seeming to cry ; for bringing home in a coach her new ferrandin¹ waistcoate, in Cheapside, a man asked her whether that was the way to the Tower ; and while she was answering him, another, on the other side, snatched away her bundle out of her lap, and could not be recovered, but ran away with it, which vexes me cruelly, but it cannot be helped. So to my office, and there till almost 12 at night with Mr. Lewes, learning to understand the manner of a purser's account, which is very hard and little understood by my fellow officers, and yet mighty necessary. So at last with great content broke up and home to supper and bed.

29th. Lay chiding, and then pleased with my wife and did consent to her having a new waistcoate made her for that which she lost yesterday. So to the office. At noon dined with Mr. Coventry at Sir J. Minnes his lodgings, the first time that ever I did yet, and am sorry for doing it now, because of obliging me to do the like to him again.

30th. A solemn fast for the King's murther, and we were forced to keep it more than we would have done, having forgot to take any victuals into the

¹ Farrendine or Ferrandine. There is uncertainty as to the precise nature of this material. Mr. Wright, in his "Dictionary of Obsolete Words," describes it as a coarse sort of stuff. From resemblance to the French word *ferrandine*, a silk stuff, some have thought it to be a kind of silk ; others think it was cloth, and so named from Farringdon, in Berkshire, a county formerly celebrated for its woollen manufactures. In the list of Lord Shaftesbury's wardrobe, there is mentioned :

"A new farwendine suit and coat, with garters, knots, and waist-belt.

"*Item.* An old farwendine suit, laced with garters and knots." See "Life of first Earl of Shaftesbury," by Christie, vol. ii. p. 103. (M. B.)

house. I to church in the forenoon, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon upon David's heart smiting him for cutting off the garment of Saul. So to my office, and all alone making up my month's accounts, which to my great trouble I find that I am got no further than 640 $\frac{1}{2}$. But I have had great expenses this month, I pray God the next may be a little better. My manuscript is brought home handsomely bound, to my full content; and now I think I have a better collection in reference to the Navy, and shall have by the time I have filled it, than any of my predecessors.

31st. Up and to my office, and there we sat till noon. So home to dinner late, and not very good, only a rabbit not half roasted, which made me angry with my wife. In the evening examining my wife's letter intended to my Lady, and another to Mademoiselle; they were so false spelt that I was ashamed of them, and took occasion to fall out about them with my wife, and so she wrote none, at which, however, I was sorry, because it was in answer to a letter of Madam about business. Late home to supper, and to bed.

February 1st (Lord's day). Up and to church, a good sermon. So home and had a good dinner with my wife, which I was pleased to see it neatly done. After dinner walked to my Lord Sandwich. Many discourses we had; but, among others, how Sir R. Bernard is turned out of his Recordership of Huntingdon by the Commissioners for Regulation, &c., at which I am troubled, because he, thinking it is done by my Lord Sandwich, will act some of his revenge, it is likely, upon me in my business, so that I must cast about me to get some other counsel to rely upon. It being a fine frost, my boy lighting me I walked home, and after supper up to prayers, and then alone with my wife and Jane did fall to tell her

what I did expect would become of her since, after so long being my servant, she had carried herself so as to make us be willing to put her away, and desired God to bless her, but bid her never to let me hear what became of her, for that I could never pardon ingratitude. This day Creed and I walking in White Hall garden did see the King coming privately from my Lady Castlemaine's; which is a poor thing for a Prince to do; and I expressed my sense of it to Creed in terms which I should not have done, but that I believe he is trusty in that point.

2nd. Up, and after paying Jane her wages, I went away, because I could hardly forbear weeping, and she cried, saying it was not her fault that she went away, and indeed it is hard to say what it is, but only her not desiring to stay that she go now. By coach with Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to the Duke; and after discourse as usual with him in his closett, I went to my Lord's: the King and Duke being gone to chappell, it being a collar-day, it being Candlemas-day; where I staid with him until towards noon, there being Jonas Moore¹ talking about some mathematical businesses, and thence I walked at noon to Mr. Povy's, where Mr. Gauden met me, and after a neat and plenteous dinner as usual, we fell to our victualling business, till Mr. Gauden and I did almost fall out, he defending himself in the readiness of his provision, when I know that the ships everywhere stay for them. Thence Mr. Povy and I, after a turn in the Parke seeing them slide, met at the Committee for Tangier. Thence with Mr. Coventry down to his chamber, where he did tell me how he did make it not only his desire, but as his greatest pleasure, to make himself an interest by

¹ Jonas Moore, a most celebrated mathematician, knighted by Charles II., and made Surveyor of the Ordnance. Ob. 1679.

doing business truly and justly, though he thwarts others greater than himself, not striving to make himself friends by addresses ; and by this he thinks and observes he do live as contentedly (now he finds himself secured from fear of want), and, take one time with another, as void of fear or cares, or more, than they that (as his own termes were) have quicker pleasures and sharper agonies than he. At my cozen Roger's chamber I met Madam Turner, she and her daughter having been at the play to-day at the Temple, it being a revelling time with them. Thence called at my brother's, who is at church, at the buriall of young Cumberland, a lusty young man.

3rd. To the office, at noon to dinner, where Mr. Creed dined with me, and Mr. Ashwell, with whom after dinner I discoursed concerning his daughter coming to live with us.

4th. To Paul's Schoole, it being Apposition-day there. I heard some of their speeches, and they were just as schoolboys' used to be, of the seven liberal sciences ; but I think not so good as ours were in our time. Thence to Bow Church, to the Court of Arches, where a judge sits, and his proctors about him in their habits, and their pleadings all in Latin. Here I was sworn to give a true answer to my uncle's libells. And back again to Paul's Schoole, and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but I think they did not answer in any so well as we did, only in geography they did pretty well. Dr. Wilkins¹ and Outram² were examiners. So down to the school, where Dr. Crumlum did me much honour by telling many what a present I had made to the school,

¹ John Wilkins, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Chester.

² William Outram, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster. Ob. 1679 ; one of the ablest and best of the Conformists, and eminent for his piety and charity, and an excellent preacher.

shewing my Stephanus, in four volumes, cost me 4*l.* 10*s.* He also shewed us, upon my desire, an old edition of the grammar of Colett's, where his epistle to the children is very pretty; and in rehearsing the creed it is said "borne of the cleane Virgin Mary." Thence with Mr. Elborough to a cook's shop to dinner, but I found him a fool, as he ever was, or worse. Thence to my cozen Roger Pepys and Mr. Phillips about my law business, which stand very bad, and so home, where I found our new mayde Mary.

5th. To dinner, and found it so well done, above what I did expect from my mayde Susan, now Jane is gone, that I did call her in and give her sixpence. Thence walked to the Temple, and there at my cozen Roger Pepys' chamber met by appointment with my uncle Thomas and his son Thomas, and there I shewing them a true state of my uncle's estate as he has left it with the debts, &c., lying upon it, we did come to some quiett talke and fair offers against an agreement on both sides, though I do offer quite to the losing of the profit of the whole estate for 8 or 10 years together, yet if we can gain peace, and set my mind at a little liberty, I shall be glad of it. I did give them a copy of this state, and we are to meet to-morrow with their answer.

6th. Up and to my office about business examining people what they could swear against Field, and the whole is, that he has called us cheating rogues and cheating knaves, for which we hope to be even with him. Thence to Lincoln's Inn Fields; and it being too soon to go to dinner, I walked up and down, and looked upon the outside of the new theatre, now a building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine. And so to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought Hudibras again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which

all the world cries up to be the example of wit ; for which I am resolved once again to read him, and see whether I can find it or no. So to Mr. Povy's, and there found them at dinner, and dined there, there being, among others, Mr. Williamson, Latin Secretary, who, I perceive, is a pretty knowing man and a scholler, but, it may be, thinks himself to be too much so. Thence to the Temple, to my cozen Roger Pepys, where met us my uncle Thomas and his son ; and, after many high demands, we at last came to a kind of agreement upon very hard terms, which are to be prepared in writing against Tuesday next. So home, and being called by a coachman who had a fare in him, he carried me beyond the Old Exchange, and there set down his fare, who would not pay him what was his due, because he carried a stranger with him, and so after wrangling he was fain to be content with 6*d.*, and being vexed the coachman would not carry me home a great while, but set me down there for the other 6*d.*, but with fair words he was willing to it, and so I came home and to my office, setting business in order, and so to supper and to bed, my mind being in disorder as to the greatness of this day's business, but yet glad that my trouble therein is like to be over.

7th. To my office, whither by agreement Mr. Coventry came before the time of sitting to confer about preparing an account of the extraordinary charge of the Navy since the King's coming, more than is properly to be applied and called the Navy charge. So by and by we sat till noon. Then home to dinner, and in the afternoon some of us met again, and thence to my writing of letters late, and making my Alphabet to my new Navy book very pretty. And so after writing to my father by the post about the endeavour to come to a composition with my uncle, though a very bad one, desiring him to be

contented therewith, I went home to supper and to bed.

8th (Lord's day). Up, and it being a very great frost, I walked to White Hall to chappell, where there preached little Dr. Duport,¹ of Cambridge, upon Josiah's words,—“But I and my house, we will serve the Lord.” But though a great scholler, he made the most flat dead sermon, both for matter and manner of delivering that ever I heard, and very long beyond his hour, which made it worse. Thence with Mr. Creed to the King's Head ordinary. After dinner Sir Thomas Willis² and another stranger, and Creed and I, fell a-talking; they of the errors and corruption of the Navy, and great expence thereof, not knowing who I was, which at last I did undertake to confute, and disabuse them: and they took it very well, and I hope it was to good purpose, they being Parliament-men. Creed and I and Captn. Ferrers to the Parke, and there walked finely, seeing people slide, we talking all the while; and Captn. Ferrers telling me, among other Court passages, how about a month ago, at a ball at Court, a child was dropped by one of the ladies in dancing, but nobody knew who, it being taken up by somebody in their handkercher. The next morning all the Ladies of Honour appeared early at Court for their vindication, so that nobody could tell whose this mischance should be. But it seems Mrs. Wells³ fell sicke that afternoon, and hath disappeared ever since, so that

¹ James Duport, D.D., Dean of Peterborough 1664, and Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1668. Ob. 1679.

² Sir Thomas Willis, Bart., ob. Nov. 1705, aged 90, and was buried at Ditton, in Cambridgeshire, where he possessed some property. In 1679, he had been put out of the Commission of the Peace for that County, for concurring with the Fanatic party in opposing the Court. COLES'S MSS.

³ Maid of Honour to the Queen, and one of Charles II.'s numerous mistresses. *Vide* “Mémoires de Grammont.”

it is concluded that it was her. Another story was how my Lady Castlemaine, a few days since, had Mrs. Stuart to an entertainment, and at night began a frolique that they two must be married, and married they were, with ring and all other ceremonies of church service, and ribbands and a sack posset in bed, and flinging the stocking ; but in the close, it is said that my Lady Castlemaine, who was the bridegroom, rose, and the King came and took her place. This is said to be very true. Another story was how Captain Ferrers and W. Howe both have often, through my Lady Castlemaine's window, seen her go to bed and Sir Charles Barkeley in her chamber. The little Duke of Monmouth, it seems, is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and so to follow Prince Rupert now, before the Duke of Buckingham, or any else.

9th. Could not rise and go to the Duke, as I should have done with the rest, but keep my bed and by the Apothecary's advice, Mr. Battersby, I am to sweat soundly, it being some disorder given the blood, but by what I know not, unless it be by my late quantitys of Dantzic-girkins that I have eaten. In the evening came Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to see me, and Sir J. Minnes advises me to the same thing, but would not have me take anything from the apothecary, but from him, his Venice treacle being better than the others, which I did consent to and did anon take and fell into a great sweat and slept pretty well.

10th. In the morning most of my disease, that is, itching and pimples, were gone. In the morning visited by Mr. Coventry and others, and very glad I am to see that I was so much inquired after. This evening Sir W. Warren came himself to the door and left a letter and box for me, and went his way. His letter mentions his giving me and my wife a

pair of gloves ; but, opening the box, we found a pair of plain white gloves for my hand, and a fair state dish of silver, and cup, with my armes, ready cut upon them, worth, I believe, about 18*l*. which is a very noble present, and the best I ever had yet. So after some contentful talke with my wife, she to bed and I to rest.

11th. My wife and I dined on a pullet and I eat heartily, having eat nothing since Sunday but water gruel and posset drink. At night my wife read Sir H. Vane's tryall to me and I find it a very excellent thing, worth reading, and him to have been a very wise man.

12th. Up and find myself pretty well and so to the office and there all the morning. Home to dinner, thither there came my wife's brother and brought Mary Ashwell with him, whom we find a very likely person to please us, both for person, discourse and other qualitys. Then came an old man from Mr. Povy, to give me some advice about his experience in the stone, which I am beholden to him for, and was well pleased with it, his chief remedy being Castle Soap in a posset. Then in the evening to the office, late writing letters and my Journall since Saturday, and so home to supper and to bed.

13th. This morning M^r. Cole, our timber merchant, sent me five couple of ducks. Dined upon one couple to day. To my office, where late upon business ; Mr. Bland sitting with me, talking of my Lord Windsor's being come home from Jamaica, unlooked-for ; which makes us think that these young Lords are not fit to do any service abroad, though it is said that he could not have his health there, but hath razed a fort of the King of Spain upon Cuba, which is considerable, or said to be so, for his honour. This day I bought the second part of Dr. Bates's

Elenchus, which reaches to the fall of Richard, and no further, for which I am sorry. This evening my wife had a great mind to choose Valentines against to-morrow, I Mrs. Clerke, or Pierce, she Mr. Hunt or Captain Ferrers, but I would not because of getting charge both to me for mine and to them for her, which did not please her.

14th. To the Temple, where my uncle Thomas, and his sons both, and I, did meet at my cozen Roger's and there signe and seale to an agreement. All being done I took the father and his son Thos. home by coach, and did pay them 30 $\text{\textit{l}}$., the arrears of the father's annuity, and with great seeming love parted, and I presently to bed, my head akeing mightily with the hot dispute I did hold with my cozen Roger and them in the business.

15th (Lord's day). Trimmed by the barber, and so sending Will to church, myself staid at home, hanging up in my green chamber my picture of the Sovereigne. So to dinner, to three more ducks and two teals, my wife and I. Then to Church, where a dull sermon. In the morning read over my voves, which through sicknesse I could not do the last Lord's day, and not through forgetfulness or negligence, so that I hope it is no breach of my vowe not to pay my forfeiture. So after prayers to bed, talking long with my wife and teaching her things in astronomy.

16th. By coach to White Hall and, after we had done our usual business with the Duke, to my Lord Sandwich and by his desire to Sir W. Wheeler, who was brought down in a sedan chair from his chamber, being lame of the goute, to borrow 1000 $\text{\textit{l}}$. of him for my Lord's occasions, but he gave me a very kind denial that he could not, but if any body else would, he would be bond with my Lord for it. So to Westminster Hall, and there find great expectation what

the Parliament will do, when they come two days hence to sit again, in matters of religion. The great question is, whether the Presbyters will be contented to let the Papists have the same liberty of conscience with them, or no, or rather be denied it themselves : and the Papists, I hear, are very busy designing how to make the Presbyters consent to take their liberty, and to let them have the same with them, which some are apt to think they will. It seems a priest was taken in his vests officiating somewhere in Holborne the other day, and was committed by Secretary Morris, according to law ; and they say the Bishop of London did give him thanks for it. Thence to my Lord Crew's and dined there, there being much company, and the abovesaid matter is now the present publique discourse. So to the Temple, where at the Solicitor General's I found Mr. Cholmely and Creed reading to him the agreement for him to put into form about the contract for the Mole at Tangier, which is done at 13s. the Cubical yarde, though upon my conscience not one of the Committee, besides the parties concerned, do understand what they do therein, whether they give too much or too little. So home and to see Sir W. Pen, and sat and played at cards with him, his daughter, and Mrs. Rooth, and so to my office a while, and then home and to bed.

17th. Up and to my office, my wife being gone to Chelsey with her brother and sister and Mrs. Lodum, to see the wassel¹ at the schoole, where Mary Ashwell is. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found at cards with Pickering ; but he made an end soon : and so all alone, he told me he had a great secret to tell me, such as no flesh knew but himself, nor ought ; which was this :—that yesterday morning Eschar, Mr. Edward Montagu's man, did come to him from

¹ See note, 26th December, 1661. (M. B.)

his master with some of the Clerkes of the Exchequer, for my Lord to sign to their books for the Embassy money ; which my Lord very civilly desired not to do till he had spoke with his master himself. In the afternoon, my Lord and my Lady Wright being at cards in his chamber, in comes Mr. Montagu ; and desiring to speak with my Lord at the window in his chamber, he began to charge my Lord with the greatest ingratitude in the world : that he that had received his earldom, garter, 4,000*l.* per annum, and whatever he is in the world, from him, should now study him all the dishonour that he could ; and so fell to tell my Lord, that if he should speak all that he knew of him, he could do so and so. In a word, he did rip up all that could be said that was unworthy, and in the basest terms they could be spoken in. To which my Lord answered with great temper, justifying himself, but endeavouring to lessen his heat, which was a strange temper in him, knowing that he did owe all he hath in the world to my Lord, and that he is now all that he is by his means and favour. But my Lord did forbear to increase the quarrel, knowing that it would be to no good purpose for the world to see a difference in the family ; but did allay them so as that he fell to weeping. And after much talke (among other things Mr. Montagu telling him that there was a fellow in the towne, naming me, that had done ill offices, and that if he knew it to be so, he would have him cudgelled) my Lord did promise him that, if upon account he saw that there was not many tradesmen unpaid, he would sign the books ; but if there was, he could not bear with taking too great a debt upon him. So this day he sent him an account, and a letter assuring him there was not above 200*l.* unpaid ; and so my Lord did sign to the Exchequer books. Upon the whole, I understand fully what a rogue he is, and

how my Lord do think and will think of him for the future; telling me that thus he has served his father my Lord Manchester, and his whole family, and now himself: and which is worst, that he hath abused, and in speeches every day do abuse, my Lord Chancellor, whose favour he hath lost; and hath no friend but Sir H. Bennet, and that (I knowing the rise of the friendship) only from the likeness of their pleasures, and acquaintance, and concernments, they have in the same matters of lust and baseness; for which, God forgive them! But he do flatter himself, from promises of Sir H. Bennet, that he shall have a pension of 2,000*l.* per annum, and be made an Earl. My Lord told me he expected a challenge from him, but told me there was no great fear of him, for there was no man lies under such an imputation as he do in the business of Mr. Cholmely, who, though a simple sorry fellow, do brave him and struts before him with the Queene, to the sport and observation of the whole Court. He did keep my Lord at the window, thus reviling and braving him above an houre, my Lady Wright being by; but my Lord tells me she could not hear every word, but did well know what their discourse was; she could hear enough to know that. So that he commands me to keep it as the greatest secret in the world, and bids me beware of speaking words against Mr. Montagu, for fear I should suffer by his passion thereby. After he had told me this I took coach and home and played on the viall, which I have not done this long time before upon any instrument, and at last I to my office, being fearful of being too much taken with musique, for fear of returning to my old dotage thereon, and so neglect my business as I used to do. Mr. Pickering tells me the story is very true of the child being dropped at the ball at Court; and that the King had it in his closett a week after, and

did dissect it ; and making great sport of it, said that in his opinion it must have been a month and three hours old ; and that, whatever others think, he hath the greatest loss (it being a boy, as he says), that hath lost a subject by the business. He tells me, too, that the other story, of my Lady Castlemaine's and Stuart's marriage, is certain, and that it was in order to the King's coming to Stuart, as is believed generally. He tells me that Sir H. Bennet is a Catholique, and how all the Court almost is changed to the worse since his coming in, they being afraid of him. And that the Queene-Mother's Court is now the greatest of all ; and that our own Queene hath little or no company come to her, which I know also to be very true, and am sorry to see it.

18th. To my office all the morning, casting up with Captain Cocke their accounts of 500 tons of hempe brought from Riga, and bought by him and partners upon account, wherein are many things worth my knowledge. So at noon to dinner, taking Mr. Hater with me because of losing them, and in the afternoon he and I alone at the office, finishing our account of the extra charge of the Navy, not properly belonging to the Navy, since the King's coming in to Christmas last ; and all extra things being abated, I find that the true charge of the Navy to that time hath been after the rate of 374,743*l.* a-year. I made an end by eleven o'clock at night. This day the Parliament met again, after their long prorogation ; but I know not any thing what they have done, being within doors all day.

19th. To my office, where abundance of business all the morning. Dined by my wife's bedside, she not being yet well. We fell out almost upon my discourse of delaying the having of Ashwell. To my office till twelve at night, drawing out copies of the overcharge of the Navy. So home and to bed,

being weary, sleepy, and my eyes begin to fail me, looking so long by candlelight upon white paper. This day I read the King's speech to the Parliament yesterday; which is very short, and not very obliging; but only telling them his desire to have a power of indulging tender consciences, not that he will yield to have any mixture in the uniformity of the Church's discipline; and says the same for the Papists, but declares against their ever being admitted to have any offices or places of trust in the kingdom; but, God knows, too many have.

20th. By water with Commissioner Pett to Deptford, and there looked over the yarde, and had a call, wherein I am very highly pleased with our new manner of call-books, being my invention. Thence thinking to have gone down to Woolwich in the Charles pleasure boat, but she run aground, and so by oars to the towne, and there dined, and then to the yarde at Mr. Ackworth's, discoursing with the officers of the yarde about their stores of masts, which was our chief business, and having done something therein, took boat and to the pleasure boat, which was come down to fetch us back. It carried us to Cuckold's Point, and so by oars to the Temple, and so walked home and to my office.

21st. To the office, where Sir J. Minnes (most of the rest being at the Parliament-house), all the morning answering petitions and other business. Towards noon there comes a man in as if upon ordinary business, and shows me a writ from the Exchequer, called a Commission of Rebellion, and tells me that I am his prisoner in Field's business; which methought did strike me to the heart, to think that we could not sit in the middle of the King's business. I told him how and where we were employed, and bid him have a care; and perceiving that we were busy, he said he would, and did with-

draw for an houre: in which time Sir J. Minnes took coach and to Court, to see what he could do from thence; and our solicitor against Field came by chance and told me that he would go and satisfy the fees of the Court, and would end the business. So he went away about that, and I staid in my closett, till by and by the man and four more of his fellows came to know what I would do; I told them to stay till I heard from the King or my Lord Chief Baron, to both whom I had now sent. With that they consulted, and told me that if I would promise to stay in the house they would go and refresh themselves, and come again, and know what answer I had: so they away, and I home to dinner. Before I had dined, the bayleys come back again with the constable, and at the office knock for me, but found me not there; and I hearing in what manner they were come, did forbear letting them know where I was; so they stood knocking and enquiring for me. By and by at my parler-window comes Sir W. Batten's Mungo, to tell me that his master and lady would have me come to their house through Sir J. Minnes's lodgings, which I could not do; but, however, by ladders, did get over the pale between our yards, and so to their house, where I found them (as they have reason) to be much concerned for me, my lady especially. The fellows staid in the yarde swearing with one or two constables, and some time we locked them into the yarde, and by and by let them out again, and so kept them all the afternoon, not letting them see me, or know where I was. One time I went up to the top of Sir W. Batten's house, and out of one of their windows spoke to my wife out of one of ours; which methought, though I did it in mirth, yet I was sad to think what a sad thing it would be for me to be really in that condition. By and by comes Sir J. Minnes, who (like himself

and all that he do) tells us that he can do no good, but that my Lord Chancellor wonders that we did not cause the seamen to fall about their eares: which we wished we could have done without our being seen in it; and Captain Grove being there, he did give them some affront, and would have got some seamen to have drubbed them, but he had not time, nor did we think it fit to have done it, they having executed their commission; but there was occasion given that he did draw upon one of them and he did complain that Grove had pricked him in the breast, but no hurt done; but I see that Grove would have done our business to them if we had bid him. By and by comes Mr. Clerke, our solicitor, who brings us a release from our adverse attorney, we paying the fees of the commission, which comes to five markes, and the charges of these fellows, which are called the commissioners, but are the most rake-shamed rogues that ever I saw in my life; so he showed them this release, and they seemed satisfied, and went away with him to their attorney to be paid by him. But before they went, Sir W. Batten and my lady did begin to taunt them, but the rogues answered them as high as themselves, and swore they would come again, and called me rogue and rebel, and they would bring the sheriffe and untile his house, before he should harbour a rebel in his house, and that they would be here again shortly. Well, at last they went away, and I by advice took occasion to go abroad, and walked through the streete to show myself among the neighbours, that they might not think worse than the business is. I home to Sir W. Batten's again, where Sir J. Lawson, Captain Allen, Spragg,¹ and several others, and all our

¹ Afterwards Sir Edward Spragg, a distinguished naval commander, who perished in a boat, which was sunk during an action with Van Tromp in 1673, whilst he was preparing to hoist his

discourse about the disgrace done to our office to be liable to this trouble, which we must get removed. Hither comes Mr. Clerke by and by, and tells me that he hath paid the fees of the Court for the commission; but the men are not contented with under 5*l*. for their charges, which he will not give them, and therefore advises me not to stir abroad till Monday that he comes or sends to me again, whereby I shall not be able to go to White Hall to the Duke of York, as I ought. Here I staid vexing, and yet pleased to see every body, man and woman, my Lady and Mr. Turner especially, for me; and so home, where my people are mightily surprized to see this business, but it troubles me not very much, it being nothing touching my particular person or estate. Sir W. Batten tells me that little is done yet in the Parliament-house, but only this day it was moved and ordered that all the members of the House do subscribe to the renouncing of the Covenant, which, it is thought, will try some of them. There is also a bill brought in for the wearing of nothing but cloth or stuffs of our owne manufacture, and is likely to be passed. Among other talke this evening, my lady did speak concerning Commissioner Pett's calling the present King bastard, and other high words heretofore; and Sir W. Batten did tell us, that he did give the Duke or Mr. Coventry an account of that and other like matters in writing under oathe, of which I was ashamed, and for which I was sorry, but I see there is an absolute hatred never to be altered there, and Sir J. Minnes, the old coxcomb, has got it by the end, which troubles me for the King's service, though I do truly hate the expressions laid to him. To my office and set down this day's Journall, and so home with my mind flag on board a third ship, having previously lost two in the engagement.

out of order, though not very sad with it, but ashamed for myself something, and for the honour of the office much more.

22d (Lord's day). Went not out all the day; but after dinner to Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's, where discoursing much of yesterday's trouble and scandal; but that which troubled me most was Sir J. Minnes coming from Court at night, and instead of bringing great comfort from thence (but I expected no better from him), he tells me that the Duke and Mr. Coventry make no great matter of it. So at night discontented to prayers, and to bed.

23d. Up by times; and not daring to go by land, did (Griffin going along with me for fear), slip to White Hall by water; where to Mr. Coventry, and, as we used to do, to the Duke; the other of my fellows being come. But we said nothing of our business, the Duke being sent for to the King, that he could not stay to speak with us. This morning came my Lord Windsor¹ to kiss the Duke's hand, being returned from Jamaica. He tells the Duke, that from such a degree of latitude going thither he began to be sicke, and was never well till his coming so far back again, and then presently begun to be well. He told the Duke of their taking the fort of St. Jago, upon Cuba, with his men; but upon the whole, I believe, that he did matters like a young lord, and was weary of being upon service out of his own country, where he might have pleasure. For methought it was a shame to see him this very afternoon, being the first day of his coming to towne, to be at a playhouse. To my Lord Sandwich; it was a great trouble to me (and I had great apprehensions of it) that my Lord desired me to go to Westminster Hall, to the Parliament-house doore, about

¹ Created Earl of Plymouth, 6th December, 1682.

business ; and to Sir Wm. Wheeler,¹ which I told him I would do, but durst not go for fear of being taken by these rogues ; but was forced to go to White Hall and take boat, and so land below the Tower at the Iron-gate ; and so the back way over Little Tower Hill ; and with my cloake over my face, took one of the watermen along with me, and staid behind a wall in the New-buildings behind our garden, while he went to see whether any body stood within the Merchants' Gate, and there standing but a little dirty boy before the gate, did make me quake and sweat to think he might be a Trepan. But there was nobody, and so I got safe into the garden, and coming to open my office doore, something behind it fell in the opening, which made me start. So that God knows in what a sad condition I should be if I were truly in debt : and therefore ought to bless God that I have no such reall reason, and to endeavour to keep myself, by my good deportment and good husbandry, out of any such condition. At home I find, by a note that Mr. Clerke in my absence hath left here, that I am free ; and that he hath stopped all matters in Court ; and I was very glad of it, and immediately had a light thought of taking pleasure to rejoyce my heart, and so resolved to take my wife to a play at Court to-night, and the rather because it is my birthday, being this day thirty years old, for which let me praise God. While my wife dressed herself, Creed and I walked out to see what play was acted to-day, and we find it "The Slighted Mayde." But, Lord ! to see that though I knew myself to be out of danger, yet I durst not go through the streete, but round by the garden into Tower Streete. By and by took coach, and to the Duke's house, where we saw it well acted, though

¹ M.P. for Queenborough.

the play hath little good in it, being most pleased to see the little girle dance in boy's apparel, she having very fine legs, only bends in the hams, as I perceive all women do. The play being done, we took coach and to Court, and there got good places, and saw "The Wilde Gallant,"¹ performed by the King's house, but it was ill acted, and the play so poor a thing as I never saw in my life almost, and so little answering the name, that from beginning to end, I could not, nor can at this time, tell certainly which was the Wild Gallant. The King did not seem pleased at all, the whole play, nor any body else. My Lady Castlemaine was all worth seeing to-night, and little Steward.² Mrs. Wells do appear at Court again, and looks well; so that, it may be, the late report of laying the dropped child to her was not true. It being done, we got a coach and got well home about 12 at night. Now as my mind was but very ill satisfied with these two plays themselves, so was I in the midst of them sad to think of the spending so much money and venturing upon the breach of my vowes, which I found myself sorry for. But I did make payment of my forfeiture presently, though I hope to save it back again by forbearing two plays at Court for this one at the Theatre, or else to forbear that to the Theatre, which I am to have at Easter. But it being my birthday and my day of liberty regained to me, and lastly, the last play that is likely to be acted at Court before Easter, because of the Lent coming in, I was the easier content to fling away so much money. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents, made him by the peers, given to her, which is a most abominable thing; and

¹ A Comedy by Dryden.

² Frances, daughter of Walter Stewart, son of Lord Blantyre, married Charles, fifth Duke of Richmond, and died 1702.

that at the great ball she was much richer in jewells than the Queene and Duchesse put both together.

24th. Waked by Mr. Clerke's being come to consult me about Field's business, and he says we shall trounce him. Then up, and to the office, and at 11 o'clock by water and to Westminster, and to Sir W. Wheeler's about my Lord's borrowing of money, and then to my Lord, who continues ill. Among other things, he tells me that he hears the Commons will not agree to the King's late declaration, nor will yield that the Papists have any ground given them to raise themselves up again in England, which I perceive by my Lord was expected at Court.

25th. To my office, where with Captain Cocke making an end of his last night's accounts till noon, and so home to dinner, my wife being come in from laying out about 4*l.* in provision of several things against Lent. The Commons in Parliament, I hear, are very high to stand to the Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge the Papists (which is endeavoured by the Court Party) nor the Presbyters.

26th. Up and drinking a draft of wormewood wine with Sir W. Batten at the Steelyard, he and I by water to the Parliament-house: he went in, and I walked up and down the Hall. All the newes is the great oddes yesterday in the votes between them that are for the Indulgence to the Papists and Presbyters, and those that are against it, which did carry it by 200 against 30. And pretty it is to consider how the King would appear to be a stiff Protestant and son of the Church; and yet would appear willing to give a liberty to these people, because of his promise at Breda. And yet all the world do believe that the King would not have this liberty given them at all. Thence to my Lord's, who, I hear, has his ague again, for which I am sorry, and Creed and

I to the King's Head ordinary, where much good company. Among the rest a young gallant lately come from France, who was full of his French, but methought not very good, but he had enough to make him think himself a wise man a great while. Thence by water from the New Exchange home to the Tower. Troubled this evening that my wife is not come home from Chelsey, whither she is gone to see the play at the schoole where Ashwell is, but she came at last, it seems, by water, and tells me she is much pleased with Ashwell's acting and carriage.

27th. About 11 o'clock, Commissioner Pett and I walked to Chyrurgeon's Hall (we being all invited thither, and promised to dine there); where we were led into the Theatre; and by and by comes the reader, Dr. Tearne,¹ with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner: and all being settled, he begun his lecture; and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Phisique, and we used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables we drank the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII. to this Company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King, done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the Company kneeling to him to receive their Charter. After dinner Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for a robbery. I did touch the dead body with my bare hand: it felt cold, but methought it was a very unpleasant sight. It seems one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved

¹ Christopher Terme, of Leyden, M.D., originally of Cambridge, and Fellow of the College of Physicians. Ob. 1673.

him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions (of his own preparing), not for honour only, but it seems, it being soft and sleek it do slip close and kills, that is, strangles presently : whereas, a stiff one do not come so close together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude, that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood ; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant. Thence with great satisfaction to me back to the Company, where I heard good discourse, and so to the afternoon Lecture upon the heart and lungs, &c., and that being done we broke up, and back to the office. Here late, and to Sir W. Batten's to speak upon some business, where I found Sir J. Minnes pretty well fuddled I thought : he took me aside to tell me how being at my Lord Chancellor's to-day, my Lord told him that there was a Great Seale passing for Sir W. Pen, through the impossibility of the Comptroller's duty to be performed by one man ; to be as it were joynt-comptroller with him, at which he is stark mad ; and swears he will give up his place. For my part, I do hope, when all is done, that my following my business will keep me secure against all their envys. But to see how the old man do strut, and swear that he understands all his duty as easily as crack a nut, and easier, he told my Lord Chancellor, for his teeth are gone ; and that he understands it as well as any man in England ; and that he will never leave to record that he should be said to be unable to do his duty alone ; though, God knows, he cannot do it more than a child. All this I am glad to see fall out between them, and myself safe, and yet I hope the King's service well done for all this, for I would not that should be hindered by any of our private differences.

28th. The House have this noon been with the

King to give him their reasons for refusing to grant any indulgence to Presbyters or Papists; which he, with great content and seeming pleasure, took, saying, that he doubted not but he and they should agree in all things, though there may seem a difference in judgement, he having writ and declared for an indulgence: and that he did believe never prince was happier in a House of Commons, than he was in them. To my Lord Sandwich, who continues troubled with his cold. Our discourse most upon the outing of Sir R. Bernard, and my Lord's being made Recorder in his stead, which he seems well contented with, saying, that it may be for his convenience to have the chief officer of the towne dependent upon him, which is very true. Home, and had a good supper of an ox's cheek, of my wife's dressing and baking, and so to my office till past eleven at night, making up my month's account, and find that I am at a stay with what I was last, that is 640 $\frac{1}{2}$. At the Privy Seale I did see the docquet by which Sir W. Pen is made the Comptroller's assistant, as Sir J. Minnes told me last night, which I must endeavour to prevent.

March 1st (Lord's day). Walked to White Hall, to the Chappell, where preached one Dr. Lewes, said heretofore to have been a great witt; but he read his sermon every word, and that so brokenly and low, that nobody could hear at any distance, nor I anything worth hearing that sat near. But, which was strange, he forgot to make any prayer before sermon, which all wonder at, but they impute it to his forgetfulness. After sermon a very fine anthem; so I up into the house among the courtiers, seeing the fine ladies, and, above all, my Lady Castlemaine, who is above all, that only she I can observe for true beauty. The King and Queene being set to dinner I went to Mr. Fox's, and there dined with him. Much genteel

company, and, among other things, I hear for certain that peace is concluded between the King of France and the Pope ; and also I heard the reasons given by our Parliament yesterday to the King why they dissent from him in matter of Indulgence, which are very good quite through, and which I was glad to hear. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, who continues with a great cold, locked up ; and, being alone, we fell into discourse of my uncle the Captain's death and estate, and I took the opportunity of telling my Lord how matters stand, and read his will, and told him all, what a poor estate he hath left, at all which he wonders strangely, which he may well do. Thence after singing some new tunes with W. Howe I walked home, whither came Will. Joyce, whom I have not seen here a great while, nor desire it a great while again, he is so impertinent a coxcomb, and yet good natured. He gone, we all to bed, without prayers, it being washing day to-morrow.

2nd. Up early and by water with Commissioner Pett to Deptford, and there took the Jemmy yacht, that the King and the Lords virtuosos built the other day, down to Woolwich, where we discoursed of several matters both there and at the Ropeyard, and so to the yacht again, and went down four or five miles with extraordinary pleasure, it being a fine day, and a brave gale of wind, and had some oysters brought us aboard newly taken, which were excellent, and eat with great pleasure. There also coming into the river two Dutchmen, we sent a couple of men on board and bought three Holland cheeses, cost 4*s*. a piece, excellent cheeses, whereof I had two and Commissioner Pett one. So back again to Woolwich, and going aboard the Hulke to see the manner of the iron bridles, which we are making of for to save cordage to put to the chain, I did fall from the shipside into the ship (Kent), and had like

to have broke my left hand, but I only sprained some of my fingers, which, when I came ashore I sent to Mrs. Ackworth for some balsam, and put to my hand, and was pretty well within a little while after. We dined at the White Hart with several officers, and after dinner went and saw the Royal James brought down to the stern of the Docke (the main business we came for), and then to the Ropeyarde, and saw a trial between Riga hempe and a sort of Indian grasse, which is pretty strong, but no comparison between it and the other for strength, and it is doubtful whether it will take tarre or no. So to the yacht again, and carried us almost to London, so by our oars home to the office, and thence Mr. Pett and I to Mr. Grant's coffee-house, whither he and Sir J. Cutler came to us and had much discourse, mixed discourse, and so broke up, and so home where I found my poor wife all alone at work, and the house foule, it being washing day, which troubled me, because that to-morrow I must be forced to have friends at dinner.

3rd (Shrove Tuesday). At noon, by promise, Mrs. Turner and her daughter, and Mrs. Morrice, came along with Roger Pepys to dinner. We were as merry as I could be, having but a bad dinner for them; but so much the better, because of the dinner which I must have at the end of this month. And here Mrs. The. shewed me my name upon her breast as her Valentine, which will cost me 20s. After dinner I took them down into the wine-cellar, and broached my tierce of claret for them. This afternoon Roger Pepys tells me, that for certain the King is for all this very highly incensed at the Parliament's late opposing the Indulgence; which I am sorry for, and fear it will breed great discontent.

5th. To the Lobby, and spoke with my cozen Roger, who is going to Cambridge to-morrow. In

the Hall I do hear that the Catholiques are in great hopes for all this, and do set hard upon the King to get Indulgence. Matters, I hear, are all naught in Ireland, and that the Parliament has voted, and the people, that is, the Papists, do cry out against the Commissioners sent by the King ; so that they say the English interest will be lost there. Thence I went to see my Lord Sandwich, who I found very ill, and by his cold being several nights hindered from sleep, he is hardly able to open his eyes, and is very weak and sad upon it, which troubled me much. So after talking with Mr. Cooke, whom I found there, about his folly for troubling me and other friends in getting him a place (that is, storekeeper of the Navy at Tangier) before there is any such thing, I returned to the Hall, and thence back with the two knights home, where I found Mr. Moore. Then came in Mr. Hawley and dined with us, and after dinner to the office, and I do find that I shall meet with nothing to oppose my growing great in the office but Sir W. Pen, who is now well again, and comes into the office very briske, and, I think, to get up his time that he has been out of the way by being mighty diligent at the office, which, I pray God, he may be, but I hope by mine to weary him out, for I am resolved to fall to business as hard as I can drive, God giving me health.

6th. Up betimes, and about eight o'clock by coach with four horses, with Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to Woolwich, a pleasant day, and so into Mr. Falconer's where we had some fish, which we brought with us, dressed ; and there dined with us his new wife, which had been his mayde, but seems to be a genteel woman, well enough bred and discreet. This day it seems the House of Commons have been very high against the Papists, being incensed by the stir which they make for their having an Indulgence ;

which, without doubt, is a great folly in them to be so hot upon at this time, when they see how averse already the House have showed themselves from it. This evening Mr. Povy tells me that my Lord Sandwich is this day so ill that he is much afeard of him, which puts me to great pain, not more for my owne sake than for his poor family's.

7th. Up betimes, and to the office, where some of us sat all the morning. At noon Sir W. Pen began to talk with me like a counterfeit rogue very kindly about his house and getting bills signed for all our works, but he is a cheating fellow, and so I let him talk and answered nothing. So we parted. I to dinner, and there met The. Turner who is come on foot in a frolique to beg me to get a place at sea for John, their man, which is a rogue ; but, however, it may be, the sea may do him good in reclaiming him, and therefore I will see what I can do. She dined with me ; and after dinner I took coach, and carried her home ; in our way, in Cheapside, lighting and giving her a dozen pair of white gloves as my Valentine. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, who is gone to Sir W. Wheeler's for his more quiet being, where he slept well last night, and I took him very merry, playing at cards, and much company with him. So I left him and Creed, and I to Westminster Hall, and there walked a good while. He told me how for some words of my Lady Gerard's,¹ against my Lady Castlemaine to the Queene, the King did the other day affront her in going out to dance with her at a ball, when she desired it as the ladies do, and is since forbid attending the Queene by the King ; which is much talked of, my Lord her husband being a great favourite.

8th (Lord's day.) To White Hall to-day : I

¹ Vide Note, Jan. 1, 1662-63.

heard Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, make a good and eloquent sermon upon these words, "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." Thence (the chappell in Lent being hung with black, and no anthem sung after sermon, as at other times,) to my Lord Sandwich at Sir W. Wheeler's. I found him out of order, thinking himself to be in a fit of ague, but in the afternoon he was very cheery. I dined with Sir William, where a good but short dinner, not better than one of mine commonly of a Sunday. After dinner up to my Lord, there being Mr. Rumball. My Lord, among other discourse, did tell us of his great difficultys passed in the business of the Sound, and of his receiving letters from the King there, but his sending them by Whetstone was a great folly; and the story how my Lord being at dinner with Sydney,¹ one of his fellow plenipotentiarys and his mortal enemy, did see Whetstone, and put off his hat three times to him, but the fellow would not be known, which my Lord imputed to his coxcomby humour (of which he was full), and bid Sydney take notice of him too, when at the very time he had letters² in his pocket from the King, as it proved afterwards. And Sydney afterwards did find it out at Copenhagen, the Dutch Commissioners telling him how my Lord Sandwich had hired one of their ships to carry back Whetstone to Lubeck, he being come from Flanders from the King. But I cannot but remember my Lord's æquanimity in all these affairs with admiration.

9th. About noon Sir J. Robinson, Lord Mayor, desiring way through the garden from the Tower, called in at the office and there invited me (and Sir

¹ The famous Algernon Sydney, one of the Ambassadors sent to Sweden and Denmark by Richard Cromwell.

² These letters are in Thurloe's "State Papers," vol. vii. One was from the King, the other from Chancellor Hyde.

W. Pen, who happened to be in the way) to dinner, which we did ; and there had a great Lent dinner of fish, little flesh. There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby,¹ of the Mint, who showed us all the new pieces both gold and silver (examples of them all), that are made for the King, by Blondeau's way ; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Symons,² and of the King by one Rotyr,³ a German, I think, that dined with us also. He extolls those of Rotyr's above the others ; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter of the two ; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing. The crownes of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25s. and 30s. a-piece.

10th. Up and to my office all the morning, and great pleasure it is to be doing my business betimes. About noon Sir J. Minnes came to me and staid half an houre with me talking about his business with Sir W. Pen, and (though with me an old doter) yet he told me freely how sensible he is of Sir W. Pen's treachery. I am pleased to hear that his knavery is found out. Dined upon a poor Lenten dinner at home, my wife being vexed at a fray this morning with my Lady Batten about my boy's going thither to turn the water-cock with their mayds' leave, but my Lady was mighty high upon it and she would teach his mistress better manners, which my wife answered aloud that she might hear, that she could learn little manners of her.

11th. Up betimes, and to my office, walked a

¹ Master of the Mint, frequently mentioned by Evelyn.

² Thomas Simon, an engraver of coins and medals.

³ There were three brothers named Rotier, all Medallists ; Philip introduced the likeness of Mrs. Stewart in the figure of Britannia.

little in the garden with Sir W. Batten, talking about the difference between his Lady and my wife yesterday, and I doubt my wife is to blame. Newes by Mr. Wood that Butler, our chief witness against Field, was sent by him to New England contrary to our desire, which made me mad almost; and so Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Pen, and I dined together at Trinity House. However, in the afternoon Wood sends us word that he has appointed another to go, who shall overtake the ship in the Downes. So I was late at the office, among other things, writing to the Downes, to the Commander-in-Chief, and putting things into the surest course I could to helpe the business.

12th. After dinner comes my uncle Thomas with a letter to my father, wherein, as we desire, he and his son do order their tenants to pay their rents to us, which pleases me well. He being gone, I to the office, where at the choice of maisters and chyrurgeons for the fleete now going out, I did my business as I could wish, both for the persons I had a mind to serve, and in getting the warrants signed drawn by my clerks, which I was afeard of. Sat late, and having done I went home, where I found Mary Ashwell come to live with us, of whom I hope well, and pray God she may please us, and find by her discourse and carriage to-night that she is not proud, but will do what she is bid, but for want of being abroad knows not how to give the respect to her mistress, as she will do when she is told it, she having been used only to little children, and there was a kind of mistress over them.

13th. To Mrs. Hunt's, and there found my wife, and so took them up by coach, and carried them to Hide Park, where store of coaches and good faces.

14th. To my office, and a great rant I did give to Mr. Davis, of Deptford, and others about their usage

of Michell, in his Bewpers,¹ which he serves in for flaggs, which did trouble me, but yet it was in defence of what was truth. So home to dinner, where Creed dined with me, and walked a good while in the garden with me after dinner, talking, among other things, of the poor service which Sir J. Lawson did really do in the Streights, for which all this great fame and honour done him is risen. So to my office, where all the afternoon giving maisters their warrants for this voyage, for which I hope hereafter to get something at their coming home. In the evening my wife and I and Ashwell walked in the garden, and I find she is a pretty ingenuous² girle at all sorts of fine work, which pleases me very well, and I hope will be very good entertainment for my wife without much cost.

15th (Lord's day). Up and with my wife and her woman Ashwell the first time to church, where our pew was so full with Sir J. Minnes's sister and her daughter, that I perceive, when we come all together, some of us must be shut out, but I suppose we shall come to some order what to do therein. Dined at home, and to church again in the afternoon.

16th. To my office, where, with several Maisters of the King's ships, Sir J. Minnes and I advising upon the business of Slopps, wherein the seaman is so much abused by the Pursers. After dinner to the Duke where we met of course, and talked of our Navy matters. Then to the Commission of Tangier, and there had my Lord Peterborough's Commission read over; and Mr. Secretary Bennet did make his

¹ A kind of cloth or material for flags. (M. B.)

² *Ingenuous* and *ingenious*. There was a time when the uttermost confusion reigned in the use of these words, and also in the words "ingenuity" and "ingenuousness." In respect of "ingenious" and "ingenuous," the first now indicates mental, the second moral qualities; "ingenious" being from "ingenium," and "ingenuous" from "ingenuus." See Trench's "Select Glossary." (M. B.)

querry upon it, in order to the drawing one for my Lord Rutherford more regularly, that being a very extravagant thing. Here long discoursing upon my Lord Rutherford's despatch, and so broke up, and going out of the Court I met with Mr. Coventry, and so he and I walked half a houre in the long stone gallery, where we discoursed of many things, among others how the Treasurer doth intend to come to pay in course, which is the thing of the world that will do the King the greatest service in the Navy, and which joys my heart to hear of. He tells me of the busines of Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Pen; which, he said, was chiefly to make Mr. Pett's being joyned with Sir W. Batten to go down the better. And how he well sees that neither one nor the other can do their duties without helpe. To my wife at my Lord's lodgings, where I heard Ashwell play first upon the harpsicon, and I find she do play pretty well, which pleaseth me very well. Thence home by coach, buying at the Temple the printed virginall-book for her.

17th. To St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, where the Judge of the Admiralty came, and the rest of the Doctors of the Civill law, and some other Commissioners, whose Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read, and then the charge, given by Dr. Exton,¹ which methought was somewhat dull, though he would seem to intend it to be very rhetoricall, saying that Justice had two wings, one of which spread itself over the land, and the other over the water, which was this Admiralty Court. That being done, and the jury called, they broke up, and to dinner to a taverne hard by, where a great dinner, and I with them; but I perceive that this Court is yet but in its infancy (as to its rising again), and their design

¹ Sir Thomas Exton, Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Admiralty Court.

and consultation was, I could overhear them, how to proceed with the most solemnity, and spend time, there being only two businesses to do, which of themselves could not spend much time. In the afternoon to the court again, where, first, Abraham, the boatswain of the King's pleasure-boat, was tried for drowning a man; and next, Turpin, accused by our wicked rogue Field, for stealing the King's timber; but after full examination, they were both acquitted, and as I was glad of the first, for the saving the man's life, so I did take the other as a very good fortune to us; for if Turpin had been found guilty, it would have sounded very ill in the eares of all the world, in the business between Field and us. Sir W. Batten and I to my Lord Mayor's,¹ where we found my Lord with Colonel Strangeways² and Sir Richard Floyd,³ Parliament-men, in the cellar drinking, where we sat with them, and then up; and by and by comes in Sir Richard Ford. In our drinking which was always going, we had many discourses, but from all of them I do find Sir R. Ford a very able man of his brains and tongue, and a scholler. But my Lord Mayor I find to be a talking, bragging Bufflehead,⁴ a fellow that would be thought to have led all the City in the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood his plots, and the dark lanthorne he walked by; but led them and plowed with them as oxen and asses (his own words) to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcombe as I could have thought had been in the City. But he is resolved to do great

¹ Sir John Robinson. (M. B.)

² Giles Strangways, M.P. for Dorsetshire.

³ Probably Sir Richard Lloyd, M.P. for Radnorshire.

⁴ *Bufflehead*. From the German "Büffel," a wild ox. "Du bist ein büffels-topf." Thou art a buffle-head—a blockhead. (M. B.)

matters in pulling down the shops quite through the City, as he hath done in many places, and will make a thorough passage quite through the City, through Canning-street, which indeed will be very fine. And then his precept, which he, in vain-glory, said he had drawn up himself, and hath printed it, against coachmen and carmen affronting of the gentry in the streete; it is drawn so like a fool, and some faults were openly found in it, that I believe he will have so much wit as not to proceed upon it though it be printed. Here we staid talking till eleven at night, Sir R. Ford breaking to my Lord our business of our patent to be Justices of the Peace in the City, which he stuck at mightily; but, however, Sir R. Ford knows him to be a fool, and so in his discourse he made him appear, and cajoled him into a consent to it: but so as I believe when he comes to his right mind to-morrow he will be of another opinion; and though Sir R. Ford moved it very weightily and neatly, yet I had rather it had been spared now. But to see how he do rant, and pretend to sway all the City in the Court of Aldermen, and says plainly that they cannot do, nor will he suffer them to do, any thing but what he pleases; nor is there any officer of the City but of his putting in; nor any man that could have kept the City for the King thus well and long but him. And if the country can be preserved, he will undertake that the City shall not dare to stir again. When I am confident there is no man almost in the City cares for him, nor hath he brains to outwit any ordinary tradesman.

18th. To my office, where all the morning. After dinner by water to Redriffe, my wife and Ashwell with me, and so walked and left them at Halfway house; I to Deptford, where up and down the store-houses, and on board two or three ships now getting

ready to go to sea, and so back home again, merry with our Ashwell, who is a merry jade, and so awhile to my office, and then home to supper, and to bed. This day my tryangle which was put in tune yesterday, did please me very well, Ashwell playing upon it pretty well.

19th. To Woolwich all alone by water, where took the officers most abed. I walked and enquired how all matters and businesses go, and by and by to the Clerke of the Cheque's house, and there eat some of his good Jamaica brawne, and so walked to Greenwich. Part of the way Deane walking with me; talking of the pride and corruption of most of his fellow officers of the yarde, and which I believe to be true. So to Deptford, where I did the same to great content, and see the people begin to value me as they do the rest. At noon Mr. Wayth took me to his house, where I dined, and saw his wife, a pretty woman, and had a good fish dinner, and after dinner he and I walked to Redriffe talking of several errors in the Navy, by which I learned a great deal, and was glad of his company. So after doing my owne business in my office, writing letters, &c., home to supper, and to bed, being weary and vexed that I do not find other people so willing to do business as myself, when I have taken pains to find out what in the yards is wanting and fitting to be done.

20th. Over the water, and walked to Deptford, where up and down the yarde, and met the two clerks of the Cheques to conclude by our method their call-books, which we have done to great perfection, and so walked home again. In Fleete Streete bought me a little sword, with gilt handle, cost 23s., and silk stockings to the colour of my riding cloth suit, cost 15s., and bought me a belt there too, cost 15s. Thence homewards, and meeting with Mr. Kirton's kinsman in Paul's Church Yarde, he and I to a coffee-

house ; where I hear how there had like to have been a surprizall of Dublin by some discontented protestants, and other things of like nature ; and it seems the Commissioners have carried themselves so high for the Papists that the others will not endure it. Hewlett and some others are taken and clapped up ; and they say the King hath sent over to dissolve the Parliament there, who went very high against the Commissioners. Pray God send all well !

21st. By appointment our full board met, and Sir Philip Warwick and Sir Robert Long came from my Lord Treasurer to speak with us about the state of the debts of the Navy ; and how to settle it, so as to begin upon the new foundation of 200,000*l.* per annum, which the King is now resolved not to exceed.

22d (Lord's day). Wrote out our bill for the Parliament about our being made Justices of Peace in the City. So to church, where a dull formall fellow that prayed for the Right Hon. John Lord Barkeley, Lord President of Connaught, &c. To my Lord Sandwich, and with him talking a good while ; I find the Court would have this Indulgence go on, but the Parliament are against it. Matters in Ireland are full of discontent. Thence with Mr. Creed to Captain Ferrers, where many fine ladies ; the house well and prettily furnished. She (Mrs. Ferrers) lies in, in great state, Mr. G. Montagu, Collonel Williams, Cromwell that was, and Mrs. Wright as proxy for my Lady Jemimah, were witnesses. Very pretty and plentiful entertainment, could not get away till nine at night. My coach cost me 7*s.* So to prayers, and to bed. This day though I was merry enough yet I could not get yesterday's quarrel with Captain Holmes out of my mind, and a natural fear of being challenged by him for the words I did give him, though nothing but what did become me as a principal officer.

23rd. To Whitehall, being fearful almost, so poor a spirit I have, of meeting Major Holmes. By and by the Duke comes, and we with him about our usual business, and then the Committee for Tangier, where, after reading my Lord Rutherford's commission and consented to, Sir R. Ford, Sir W. Rider, and I were chosen to bring in some laws for the Civill government of it, which I am little able to do, but am glad to be joyned with them, for I shall learn something of them. Thence to see my Lord Sandwich, and who should I meet at the door but Major Holmes. He would have gone away, but I told him I would not spoil his visitt, and would have gone, but however we fell to discourse and he did as good as desire excuse for the high words that did pass in his heat the other day, which I was willing enough to close with, and after telling him my mind we parted, and I left him to speak with my Lord, and I by coach home, where I found Will. Howe come home to-day with my wife, and staid with us all night, staying late up singing songs. This day Greatorex brought me a very pretty weather-glasse for heat and cold.

24th. Lay pretty long, that is, till past six o'clock, and then up and W. Howe and I very merry together, till having eat our breakfast, he went away, and I to my office. By and by Sir J. Minnes and I to the Victualling Office by appointment to meet several persons upon stating the demands of some people of money from the King. Here we went into their Bakehouse, and saw all the ovens at work, and good bread too, as ever I would desire to eat. Thence Sir J. Minnes and I homewards calling at Browne's, the mathematician in the Minnerys, with a design of buying White's ruler to measure timber with, but could not agree on the price. So home, and to dinner, and so to my office, where we sat anon,

and among other things had Cooper's¹ business tried against Captain Holmes, but I find Cooper a fuddling, troublesome fellow, though a good artist, and so am contented to have him turned out of his place, nor did I see reason to say one word against it, though I know what they did against him was with great envy and pride.

25th (Lady-day). To the Sun Taverne, to my Lord Rutherford, and dined with him, and some others, his officers, and Scotch gentlemen, of fine discourse and education. My Lord used me with great respect, and discoursed upon his business as with one that he did esteem, and indeed I do believe that this garrison is likely to come to something under him. By and by he went away, forgetting to take leave of me, my back being turned, looking upon the aviary, which is there very pretty, and the birds begin to sing well this spring. This evening came Captain Grove about hiring ships for Tangier. I did hint to him my desire that I could make some lawfull profit thereof, which he promises.

26th. This day is five years since it pleased God to preserve me at my being cut of the stone, of which I bless God I am in all respects well. But I could not get my feast to be kept to-day as it used to be, because of my wife's being ill and other disorders by my servants being out of order. This morning came a new cooke-mayde at 4*l.* per annum, the first time I ever did give so much. She did live last at my Lord Monk's house, and indeed at dinner did get what there was very prettily ready and neate for me, which did please me much. This morning my uncle Thomas was with me according to our agreement,

¹ Cooper taught Pepys arithmetic, and Pepys got him appointed Master of the Reserve (see Diary, Aug. 7, 1662), from which office Captain Holmes wanted him to be summarily dismissed. Pepys opposed his discharge without hearing his defence. (M. B.)

and I paid him the 50*l.* which was against my heart to part with, and yet I must be contented; I used him very kindly, and I desire to continue so voyd of any discontent as to my estate, that I may follow my business the better.

27th. At my office all the morning. Thence to the Exchequer, and thence with Creed into Fleete Streete, and calling at several places about business; in passing at the Hercules pillars he and I dined though late, and thence with one that we found there, a friend of Captain Ferrer's I used to meet at the playhouse, they would have gone to some gameing house, but I would not but parted, and staying a little in Paul's Churchyard, at the foreign Book-seller's looking over some Spanish books, and with much ado keeping myself from laying out money there, as also with them, being willing enough to have gone to some idle house with them, I got home, and after a while at my office, to supper, and to bed.

28th. To Deptford. So home, and after a little while hearing Ashwell play on the tryangle, to my office, and there, late writing a chiding letter to my poor father about his being so unwilling to come to an account with me, which I desire he might do, that I may know what he spends, and how to order the estate so as to pay debts and legacys as far as may be.

29th. To church, home to dinner. After dinner in comes Mr. Moore, and sat and talked with us a good while; among other things telling me, that neither my Lord nor he are under apprehensions of the late discourse in the House of Commons, concerning resumption of Crowne lands, which I am very glad of. He being gone, up to my chamber, reading over some papers which I found in my man William's chest of drawers, among others some old precedents concerning the practice of this office

heretofore, which I am glad to find and shall make use of, among others an oathe, which the Principal Officers were bound to swear at their entrance into their offices, which I would be glad were in use still. Then fell hard to make up my monthly accounts, letting my family go to bed after prayers. I staid up long, and find myself, as I think, fully worth 670*l*. So with good comfort to bed, finding that though it be but little, yet I do get ground every month. I pray God it may continue so with me.

30th. To the Duke, where we did our usual business, and afterwards to the Tangier Committee, where among other things we all of us sealed and signed the Contract for building the Mole with my Lord Tiviott, Sir J. Lawson, and Mr. Cholmeley. A thing I did with a very ill will, because a thing which I did not at all understand, nor any or few of the whole board. We did also read over the propositions for the Civill government and Law Merchant of the towne, as they were agreed on this morning at the Glassehouse by Sir R. Ford and Sir W. Rider, who drew them, Mr. Povy and myself as a Committee appointed to prepare them.

April 1st. I went to the Temple to my Cozen Roger Pepys, to see and talk with him a little; who tells me that, with much ado, the Parliament do agree to throw down Popery; but he says it is with so much spite and passion, and an endeavour of bringing all Non-conformists into the same condition, that he is afraid matters will not yet go so well as he could wish. Calling at my brother's they tell me that my father is not yet up. At which I wondered, not thinking that he was come. So I up to his bedside and staid an houre or two talking with him. Among other things he tells me how unquiett my mother is grown, that he is not able to live almost with her, if it were not for Pall. Home,

calling on the virginall maker, buying a rest for myself to tune my tryangle, and taking one of his people along with me to put it in tune once more, by which I learned how to go about it myself for the time to come. To my office all the afternoon ; Lord ! how Sir J. Minnes, like a mad coxcomb, did swear and stamp, swearing that Commissioner Pett hath still the old heart against the King that ever he had, and that this was his envy against his brother that was to build the ship, and all the damnable reproaches in the world, at which I was ashamed, but said little ; but, upon the whole, I find him still a foole, led by the nose with stories told by Sir W. Batten, whether with or without reason. So, vexed in my mind to see things ordered so unlike gentlemen, or men of reason, I went home and to bed.

2nd. By coach to Westminster Hall with Sir W. Pen. By and by the House rises and I home again with him, all the way talking about the business of Holmes ; I did on purpose tell him my mind freely, and let him see that it must be a wiser man than Holmes (in these very words) that shall do me any hurt while I do my duty. I to remember him of Holmes' words against Sir J. Minnes, that he was a knave, rogue, coward, and that he will kick him and pull him by the eares, which he remembered all of them and may have occasion to do it hereafter to his owne shame to suffer them to be spoke in his presence without any reply but what I did give him, which has caused all this feud. But I am glad of it, for I would now and then take occasion to let the world know that I will not be made a novice. Sir W. Pen took occasion to speak about my wife's strangenesse to him and his daughter, and that believing at last that it was from his taking of Sarah to be his mayde, he hath now put her away, at

which I am glad. He told me, that this day the King hath sent to the House his concurrence wholly with them against the Popish priests, Jesuits, &c., which gives great content, and I am glad of it.

3rd. To White Hall and to Chappell, which being most monstrous full, I could not go into my pew, but sat among the quire. Dr. Creeton, the Scotchman, preached a most admirable, good, learned, honest and most severe sermon, yet comically, upon the words of the woman concerning the Virgin, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the paps that gave thee suck; and he answered, Nay; rather is he blessed that heareth the word of God, and keepeth it." He railed bitterly ever and anon against John Calvin, and his brood, the Presbyterians, and against the present terme, now in use, of "tender consciences." He ripped up Hugh Peters¹ (calling him the execrable skellum²), his preaching and stirring up the mayds of the city to bring in their bodkins and thimbles. Thence going out of White Hall, I met Captain Grove, who did give me a letter directed to myself from himself. I discerned money to be in it, and took it, knowing, as I found it to be, the proceed of the place I have got him to be, the taking up of vessels for Tangier. But I did not open it till I came home to my office, and there I broke it open, not looking into it till all the money was out, that I might say I saw no money in the paper, if ever I should be questioned about it. There was a piece in gold and 4*l.* in silver. So home to dinner with my father and wife, and after

¹ Hugh Peters, a native of Fowey, in Cornwall, expelled from St. John's College, Cambridge, for irregularity. He was then an actor, and afterwards took orders, and was celebrated for his buffoonery in the pulpit. He was so bitter against Charles the First, that at the Restoration he was excepted from the act of pardon, and was hanged and quartered, 1660. (M. B.)

² *Skellum*. Rogue, rascal. (M. B.)

dinner up to my tryangle, where I found that above my expectation Ashwell has very good principles of musique and can take out a lesson herself with very little pains. Thence to the Tangier Committee, where we find ourselves at a great stand; the establishment being but 70,000*l.* per annum, and the forces to be kept in the towne at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring it is 53,000*l.* The charge of this year's work of the Mole will be 13,000*l.*; besides 1,000*l.* a-year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension, and the fortifications and contingencys, which puts us to a great stand. I find at Court that there is some bad newes from Ireland of an insurrection of the Catholiques there, which puts them into an alarme. I hear also in the City that for certain there is an embargo upon all our ships in Spayne, upon this action of my Lord Windsor's at Cuba, which signifies little or nothing, but only he hath a mind to say that he hath done something before he comes back again.

4th. To my office. Home to dinner, whither by and by comes Roger Pepys, Mrs. Turner and her daughter, Joyce Norton, and a young lady, a daughter of Coll. Cockes, my uncle Wight, his wife and Mrs. Anne Wight. This being my feast, in lieu of what I should have had a few days ago for my cutting of the stone, for which the Lord make me truly thankful. Very merry at, before, and after dinner, and the more for that my dinner was great, and most neatly dressed by our owne only mayde. We had a fricasee of rabbits and chickens, a leg of mutton boiled, three carps in a dish, a great dish of a side of lambe, a dish of roasted pigeons, a dish of four lobsters, three tarts, a lamprey pie (a most rare pie), a dish of anchovies, good wine of several sorts, and all things mighty noble and to my great content. After dinner to Hide Parke; my aunt, Mrs. Wight

and I in one coach, and all the rest of the women in Mr. Turner's ; Roger being gone in haste to the Parliament about the carrying this business of the Papists, in which it seems there is great contest on both sides, and my uncle and father staying together behind. At the Parke was the King, and in another coach my Lady Castlemaine, they greeting one another at every tour. Here about an houre and home, and I found the house as clear as if nothing had been done there to day from top to bottom, which made us give the cooke 12*d*. a piece, each of us.

5th (Lord's day). Up and spent the morning, till the Barber came, in reading in my chamber part of Osborne's advice to his Son, which I shall not never enough admire for sense and language, and being by and by trimmed, to Church, myself, wife, Ashwell &c. Home and while dinner was prepared to my office to read over my vows with great affection and to very good purpose. Then to church again, where a simple bawling young Scot preached.

6th. To my office and there made an end of reading my book that I have of Mr. Barlow's of the Journall of the Commissioners of the Navy, who begun to act in the year 1628 and continued six years, wherein is fine observations and precedents out of which I do purpose to make a good collection. To the Committee of Tangier, where I found, to my great joy, my Lord Sandwich, the first time I have seen him abroad these some months, and by and by he rose and took leave, being, it seems, this night to go to Kensington or Chelsey, where he hath taken a lodging for a while to take the ayre.

7th. To my office. At noon to the Exchange, and after dinner to the office, where Sir J. Minnes did make a great complaint to me alone, how my clerke Mr. Hater had entered in one of the Sea books a

ticket to have been signed by him before it had been examined, which makes the old foole mad almost, though there was upon enquiry the greatest reason in the world for it. Which though it vexes me, yet it is most to see from day to day what a coxcomb he is, and that so great a trust should lie in the hands of such a foole.

8th. By water to White Hall, to chappell; where preached Dr. Pierce, the famous man that preached the sermon so much cried up, before the King against the Papists. His matter was the Devil tempting our Saviour, being carried into the Wilderness by the spirit. And he hath as much of natural eloquence as most men that ever I heard in my life, mixed with so much learning. After sermon I went up and saw the ceremony of the Bishop of Peterborough's paying homage upon the knee to the King, while Sir H. Bennet, Secretary, read the King's grant of the Bishopric of Lincolne, to which he is translated. His name is Dr. Lany.¹ Here I also saw the Duke of Monmouth, with his Order of the Garter, the first time I ever saw it. I hear that the University of Cambridge did treat him a little while since with all the honour possible, with a comedy at Trinity College, and banquet; and made him Master of Arts there. All which, they say, the King took very well. Dr. Raynbow,² Master of Magdalen, being now Vice-Chancellor.

9th. To my office, and anon we met upon finishing the Treasurer's accounts. At noon dined at home and am vexed to hear my wife tell me how our mayde Mary do endeavour to corrupt our cook mayde, which did please me very well, but I am resolved to rid the house of her as soon as I can.

¹ Benjamin Lany, S.T.P., made Bishop of Peterborough 1660, translated to Lincoln 1662-63, and to Ely, 1667.

² Edward Rainbow, chaplain to the King, and Dean of Peterborough, and in 1664 Bishop of Carlisle. Ob. 1684.

10th. After great expectation from Ireland, and long stop of letters, there is good newes come, that all is quiett after our great noise of troubles there, though some stir hath been as was reported. To the Royall Oake Taverne, in Lumbarde Streete, where Alexander Broome¹ the poet was, a merry and witty man, I believe, if he be not a little conceited, and here drank a sort of French wine, called Ho Bryan,² that hath a good and most particular taste that I never met with. Then to my Lord's lodgings, met my wife, and walked to the New Exchange. There laid out 10s. upon pendants and painted leather gloves, very pretty and all the mode.

12th (Lord's day). To church, where I found our pew altered by taking some of the hind pew to make ours bigger. After dinner got a coach and to Graye's Inn walks, where some handsome faces. Coming home to-night, a drunken boy was carrying by our constable to our new pair of stocks to handsel them, being a new pair and very handsome.

13th. Up by five o'clock and to my office, where hard at work till towards noon, and home and eat a bit, and so with Sir W. Batten to the Stillyard, and there eat a lobster together, and anon to the Tangier Committee, where we had very fine discourse from Dr. Walker and Wiseman, civilians, against our erecting a court-merchant at Tangier, and well answered by my Lord Sandwich (whose speaking I never till now observed so much to be very good) and Sir R. Ford. By and by the discourse being ended, we fell to my Lord Rutherford's dispatch, which do not please him, he being a Scott, and one resolved to scrape every penny that he can get by any way, which the Committee will not agree to. He took offence at something and rose away, with-

¹ See Diary, 3rd July, 1666. (M. B.)

² Haut Brion. (M. B.)

out taking leave of the board, which all took ill, though nothing said but only by the Duke of Albe-marle, who said that we ought to settle things as they ought to be, and if he will not go upon these terms another man will, no doubt.

14th. By barge to Woolwich, to see "The Royal James" launched, where she has been under repair a great while. Then to Mr. Falconer's to a dinner of fish of our own sending, and when it was just ready to come upon the table, word is brought that the King and Duke are come, so they all went away to shew themselves, while I staid and had a little dish or two by myself, resolving to go home, and by the time I had dined they came again, having gone to little purpose, the King, I believe, taking little notice of them. So they to dinner, and I staid a little with them, and so good bye. I walked to Greenwich, studying the slide rule for measuring of timber, which is very fine, and so home pretty weary. Anon they all came home, the ship well launched. Sir G. Carteret tells me to-night that he perceives the Parliament is likely to make a great bustle before they will give the King any money; will call all things into question; and, above all, the expences of the Navy; and do enquire into the King's expences everywhere, and into the truth of the report of people being forced to sell their bills at 15 per cent. losse in the Navy; and, lastly, that they are in a very angry pettish mood at present, and not likely to be better.

15th. After talking with my father awhile, I to my office, and there hard at it till almost noon, and then went down the river with Maynes, the purveyor, to show a ship's lading of Norway goods. So home, and after dinner up with my wife and Ashwell a little to the Tryangle, and so I down to Deptford by land about looking out a couple of catches fitted

to be speedily set forth in answer to a letter of Mr. Coventry's to me. Which done, I walked back again, all the way reading of my book of Timber measure, comparing it with my new Sliding Rule brought home this morning with great pleasure. Taking boat again I went to Shishe's yard, and with him pitched upon a couple, and so home a little weary.

16th. Met to pass Mr. Pitts' (Sir J. Lawson's Secretary and Deputy Treasurer) accounts for the voyage last to the Streights, wherein the demands are strangely irregular, and I dare not oppose it alone for making an enemy and do no good, but only bring a review upon my Lord Sandwich, but God knows it troubles my heart to see it, and to see the Comptroller, whose duty it is, to make no more matter of it.

17th. It being Good Friday, our dinner was only sugar-sopps and fish ; the only time that we have had a Lenten dinner all this Lent. This morning Mr. Hunt, the instrument maker, brought me home a Basse Viall to see whether I like it, which I do not very well, besides I am under a doubt whether I had best buy one, because of spoiling my present mind and love to business. To Paul's Church Yarde, to cause the title of my English " Mare Clausum " to be changed, and the new title, dedicated to the King, to be put to it, because I am ashamed to have the other seen dedicated to the Commonwealth.

18th. At dinner was Mr. Creed, all dinner, and walking in the garden the afternoon, he and I talking of the ill management of our office, which God knows is very ill for the King's advantage. I would I could make it better.

19th (Easter day). Up and this day put on my close-kneed coloured suit, which, with new stockings of the colour, with belt, and new gilt-handled

sword, is very handsome. To church alone, and after dinner to church again, where the young Scotchman preaching I slept all the while. After supper, fell in discourse of dancing, and I find that Ashwell hath a very fine carriage, which makes my wife almost ashamed of herself to see herself so outdone, but to-morrow she begins to learn to dance for a month or two. So to prayers and to bed. Will being gone, with my leave, to his father's this day for a day or two, to take physique these holydays.

20th. Begun to look over my father's accounts, which he brought out of the country with him by my desire, whereby I may see what he has received and spent, and I find that he is not anything extravagant, and yet it do so far outdo his estate that he must either think of lessening his charge, or I must be forced to spare money out of my purse to helpe him through, which I would willing do as far as 20*l.* goes. To Mr. Grant's. There saw his prints, which he shewed me, and indeed are the best collection of any things almost that ever I saw, there being the prints of most of the greatest houses, churches, and antiquitys in Italy and France and brave cutts. I had not time to look them over as I ought. With Sir G. Carteret and Sir John Minnes to my Lord Treasurer's, thinking to have spoken about getting money for paying the Yards; but we found him with some ladies at cards: and so, it being a bad time to speak, we parted. This day the little Duke of Monmouth was marryed at White Hall, in the King's chamber; and to-night is a great supper and dancing at his lodgings, near Charing-Cross. I observed his coate at the tail of his coach: he gives the arms of England, Scotland, and France, quartered upon some other fields, but what it is that speaks his being a bastard I know not.

21st. I ruled with red ink my English "Mare

Clausum," which, with the new orthodox title, makes it now very handsome. So to business and home to supper to play a game at cards with my wife; Ashwell plays well at cards, and will teach us to play; I wish it do not lose too much of my time, and put my wife too much upon it.

22nd. To the Change, and so to my uncle Wight's, by invitation, whither my father, wife, and Ashwell came, where we had but a poor dinner, and not well dressed; besides, the very sight of my aunt's hands and greasy manner of carving, did almost turn my stomach. After dinner by coach to the King's Playhouse, where we saw but part of "Witt without mony,"¹ which I do not like much, but coming late put me out of tune, and it costing me four half-crownes for myself and company.

23rd. St. George's day and Coronacion, the King and Court being at Windsor, at the installing of the King of Denmarke by proxy and the Duke of Monmouth. I, with my father, sat all the morning looking over his country accounts. I find his spending hitherto has been (without extraordinary charges) at full 100*l.* per annum, which troubles me, and I did let him apprehend it, so as that the poor man wept, though he did make it well appear to me that he could not have saved a farthing of it. I did tell him how things stand with us, and did shew my distrust of Pall, both for her good nature and housewifery, which he was sorry for, telling me that indeed she carries herself very well and carefully, which I am glad to hear, though I doubt it was but his doting and not being able to find her miscarriages so well nowadays as he could heretofore have done. Spend the evening with my father. At cards till late, and being at supper, my boy being sent for some mustard, staid half an houre in the

¹ Probably by Fletcher alone. (M. B.)

streets, it seems at a bonfire, at which I was very angry, and resolve to beat him to-morrow.

24th. Up betimes, and with my salt eele went down in the parler and there got my boy and did beat him till I was fain to take breath two or three times, yet for all I am afeard it will make the boy never the better, he is grown so hardened in his tricks, which I am sorry for, he being capable of making a brave man, and is a boy that I and my wife love very well. So made me ready, and to my office, where all the morning, and at noon home, whither came Captain Holland, who is lately come home from sea, and has been much harassed in law about the ship which he has bought, so that it seems in a despair he endeavoured to cut his own throat, but is recovered it; and it seems—whether by that or any other persuasion (his wife's mother being a great zealot) he is turned almost a Quaker, his discourse being nothing but holy, and that impertinent, that I was weary of him.

25th. Up betimes and to my vyall and song book a pretty while, and so to my office, and there we sat all the morning. Among other things Sir W. Batten had a mind to cause Butler (our chief witsse in the business of Field, whom we did force back from an employment going to sea to come back to attend our law sute) to be borne as a mate on the Rainbow in the Downes in compensation for his loss for our sakes. This he orders an order to be drawn by Mr. Turner for, and after Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen had signed it, it came to me and I was going to put it up into my book, thinking to consider of it and give them my opinion upon it before I parted with it, but Sir W. Pen told me I must sign or give it him again, for it should not go without my hand. I told him what I meant to do, whereupon Sir W. Batten was very angry, and in a

great heat told me that I should not think as I have heretofore done, make them sign orders and not sign them myself. Which what ignorance or worse it implies is easy to judge, when he shall sign to things (and the rest of the board too as appears in this business) for company and not out of their judgment. After some discourse I did convince them that it was not fit to have it go, and Sir W. Batten first, and then the rest, did willingly cancel all their hands and tear the order, for I told them, Butler being such a rogue as I know him, and we have all signed him to be to the Duke, it will be in his power to publish this to our great reproach, that we should take such a course as this to serve ourselves in wronging the King by putting him into a place he is no wise capable of, and that in an Admiral ship. In the evening merrily practising to dance, which my wife hath begun to learn this day of Mr. Pembleton, but I fear will hardly do any great good at it, because she is conceited that she do well already, though I think no such thing. At Westminster Hall, this day, I buy a book lately printed and licensed by Dr. Stradling, the Bishop of London's chaplin, being a book discovering the practices and designs of the papists, and the fears of some of our own fathers of the Protestant church heretofore of the return to Popery as it were prefacing it. The book is a very good book; but forasmuch as it touches one of the Queene-mother's father confessors, the Bishop, which troubles many good men and members of Parliament, hath called it in, which I am sorry for. Another book I bought, being a collection of many expressions of the great Presbyterian Preachers upon publique occasions, in the late times, against the King and his party, as some of Mr. Marshall, Case, Calamy, Baxter, &c., which is good reading now, to see what they then did teach, and the people believe,

and what they would seem to believe now. Lastly, I did hear that the Queene is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he having not supped once with her this quarter of a yeare, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine; who hath been with him this St. George's feast at Windsor, and came home with him last night; and, which is more, they say is removed as to her bed from her owne home to a chamber in White Hall, next to the King's owne; which I am sorry to hear, though I love her much.

26th (Lord's-day). Tom coming, with whom I was angry for botching my camlott coat, to tell me that my father and he would dine with me, and that my father was at our church, I got me ready and had a very good sermon of a country minister upon "How blessed a thing it is for brethren to live together in unity!" All the afternoon upon my accounts, and find myself worth full 700*l.*, for which I bless God, it being the most I was ever worth in money. In the evening my wife, Ashwell, and the boy and I, and the dogg, over the water and walked to Half-way house, and beyond into the fields, gathering of cowslipps, and so to Half-way house, with some cold lamb we carried with us, and there supped, and had a most pleasant walke back again, Ashwell all along teilling us some parts of their maske at Chelsey Schoole, which was very pretty, and I find she hath a most prodigious memory, remembering so much of things acted six or seven years ago. So home, and after reading my vows, being sleepy, without prayers to bed, for which God forgive me!

27th. Will Griffin tells me this morning that Captain Browne, Sir W. Batten's brother-in-law, is dead of a blow given him two days ago by a seaman, a servant of his, being drunk, with a stone striking him on the forehead, for which I am sorry, he having

a good woman and several small children. By water to White Hall ; but found the Duke of York gone to St. James's for this summer ; and thence with Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke's closett. And a good while with him about our Navy business ; and so I to White Hall, and there alone a while with my Lord Sandwich discoursing about his debt to the Navy, wherein he hath given me some things to resolve him in. Thence to my Lord's lodgings, and thither came Creed to me, and he and I walked a great while in the garden, and thence to an alehouse in the market place to drink fine Lambeth ale, and so home, where I found Mary gone from my wife, she being too high for her, though a very good servant, and my boy too will be going in a few days, for he is not for my family, he is grown so out of order and not to be ruled, and do himself desire to be gone, which I am sorry for, because I love the boy and would be glad to bring him to good. The Queene (which I did not know) it seems was at Windsor, at the late St. George's feast there ; and the Duke of Monmouth dancing with her with his hat in his hand, the King came in and kissed him, and made him put on his hat, which every body took notice of.

28th. Up betimes and to my office, only stepped up to see my wife and her dancing master at it, and I think after all she will do pretty well. So to dinner and then I to my office casting up my Lord's sea accounts over again, and putting them in order for payment.

29th. To Chelsey, where we found my Lord all alone at a little table with one joynt of meat at dinner ; we sat down and very merry talking, and mightily extolling the manner of his retirement, and the goodness of his diet : the mistress of the house, Mrs. Becke, having been a woman of good condition

heretofore, a merchant's wife, and hath all things most excellently dressed ; among others, her cakes admirable, and so good that my Lord's words were, they were fit to present to my Lady Castlemaine. From ordinary discourse my Lord fell to talk of other matters to me, of which chiefly the second part of the fray, which he told me a little while since of, between Mr. Edward Montagu and himself ; that he hath forborn coming to him almost two months, and do speak not only slightly of my Lord every where, but hath complained to my Lord Chancellor of him, and arrogated all that ever my Lord hath done to be only by his direction and persuasion. Whether he hath done the like to the King or no, my Lord knows not ; but my Lord hath been with the King since, and finds all things fair ; and my Lord Chancellor hath told him of it, but with so much contempt of Mr. Montagu, as my Lord knows himself very secure against any thing the foole can do ; and notwithstanding all this, so noble is his nature, that he professes himself ready to show kindness and pity to Mr. Montagu on any occasion. My Lord told me of his presenting Sir H. Bennet with a gold cupp of 100*l.*, which he refuses, with a compliment ; but my Lord would have been glad he had taken it, that he might have had some obligations upon him which he thinks possible the other may refuse to prevent it ; not that he hath any reason to doubt his kindnesse. But I perceive great differences there are at Court ; and Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Bristol, and their faction, are likely to carry all things before them (which my Lord's judgment is, will not be for the best), and particularly against the Chancellor, who, he tells me, is irrecoverably lost : but, however, that he will not actually joyne in anything against the Chancellor, whom he do owne to be his most sure friend, and to have been his greatest ; and therefore

will not openly act in either, but passively carry himself even. The Queene, my Lord tells me, he thinks he hath incurred some displeasure with, for his kindness to his neighbour, my Lady Castlemaine. My Lord tells me he hath no reason to fall for her sake, whose wit, management, nor interest, is not likely to hold up any man, and therefore he thinks it not his obligation to stand for her against his owne interest. The Duke and Mr. Coventry my Lord says he is very well with, and fears not but they will show themselves his very good friends, specially at this time, he being able to serve them, and they needing him, which he did not tell me wherein. Talking of the business of Tangier, he tells me that my Lord Teviott is gone away without the least respect paid to him, nor indeed to any man, but without his commission; and (if it be true what he says) having laid out seven or eight thousand pounds in commodities for the place; and besides having not only disoblged all the Commissioners for Tangier, but also Sir Charles Barkeley the other day, who spoke in behalf of Colonel Fitz-Gerald, that having been deputy-governor there already, he ought to have expected and had the governorship upon the death or removal of the former governor. And whereas it is said that he and his men are Irish, which is indeed the main thing that hath moved the King and Council to put in Teviott to prevent the Irish having too great and the whole command there under Fitz-Gerald; he further said that there was never an Englishman fit to command Tangier; my Lord Teviott answered yes, that there were many more fit than himself or Fitz-Gerald either. So that Fitz-Gerald being so great with the Duke of York, and being already made deputy-governor, independent of my Lord Teviott, and he being also left here behind him for a while, my Lord Sandwich

do think that, putting all these things together, the few friends he hath left, and the ill posture of his affairs, my Lord Teviott is not a man of the conduct and management that either people take him to be, or is fit for the command of the place. And here, speaking of the Duke of York and Sir Charles Barkeley, my Lord tells me that he do very much admire the good management, and discretion, and nobleness of the Duke, that whatever he may be led by him or Mr. Coventry singly in private, yet he did not observe that in publique matters, but he did give as ready hearing and as good acceptance to any reasons offered by any other man against the opinions of them, as he did to them, and would concur in the prosecution of it. Then we came to discourse upon his own sea accompts, and came to a resolution what and how to proceed in them; wherein, though I offered him a way of evading the greatest part of his debt honestly, by making himself debtor to the Parliament, before the King's time, which he might justly do, yet he resolved to go openly and nakedly in it, and put himself to the kindness of the King and Duke, which humour, I must confess, and so did tell him (with which he was not a little pleased) had thriven very well with him, being known to be a man of candid and open dealing, without any private tricks or hidden designs as other men commonly have in what they do. From that we had discourse of Sir G. Carteret, and of many others; and upon the whole I do find that it is a troublesome thing for a man of any condition at Court to carry himself even, and without contracting enemys or envyers; and that much discretion and dissimulation is necessary to do it. Anon I took leave, and coming down found my father unexpectedly in great pain and desiring for God's sake to get him a bed to lie upon, which I did, and W. Howe and I staid by him, in so

great pain as I never saw, poor wretch, and with that patience, crying only: terrible, terrible pain, God helpe me, God helpe me, with the mournful voice, that made my heart ake. He desired to rest a little alone to see whether it would abate, and W. Howe and I went down and walked in the gardens, which are very fine, and a pretty fountayne, with which I was finely wetted, and up to a banquetting house, with a very fine prospect, and so back to my father, who I found in such pain that I could not bear the sight of it without weeping. At last I got him to go to the coach, and driving hard, meeting in the way with Captain Ferrers going to my Lord, to tell him that my Lady Jemimah is come to towne, and that Will Stankes is come with my father's horses, we got home and all helping we got him to bed presently, and after half an hour's lying in his naked bed, he was at good ease and so fell to sleep, and we went down whither W. Stankes was come with his horses. But it is very pleasant to hear how he rails at the rumbling and ado that is in London over it is in the country, that he cannot endure it.

30th. Up, and after drinking my morning draft with my father, who is very well again, and W. Stankes, I went forth to Sir W. Batten, who is going (to no purpose as he uses to do) to Chatham upon a survey. So to my office and then to the Exchange, and back home to dinner, where Mrs. Hunt, my father, and W. Stankes; but, Lord! what a stir Stankes makes with his being crowded in the streets and wearied in walking in London, and would not be wooed by my wife and Ashwell to go to a play, nor to White Hall, or to see the Lyons,¹ though he was carried in a coach. I never could have thought there had been upon earth a man so little curious in the world as he is.

May 1st. Up betimes and my father with me, and he

¹ See 7th May, 1662. (M. B.)

and I all the morning and Will Stankes settling our matters concerning our Brampton estate, &c., and I find that there will be, after all debts paid within 100*l.*, 50*l.* per annum clear coming towards my father's maintenance, besides 25*l.* per annum annuities to my Uncle Thomas and Aunt Perkins. After dinner I got my father, brother Tom, and myself together, and I advised my father to good husbandry and to living within the compass of 50*l.* a year, and all in such kind words, as not only made them but myself to weep, and I hope it will have a good effect. That being done, we all took horse, and I, upon a horse hired of Mr. Game, saw him out of London, at the end of Bishopsgate Streete, and so I turned and rode, with some trouble, through the fields, and then Holborne, &c., towards Hide Parke, whither all the world, I think, are going; and in my going, almost thither, met W. Howe coming galloping upon a little crop black nag; it seems one that was taken in some ground of my Lord's, by some mischance being left by his master, a thiefe; this horse being found with black cloth eares on, and a false mayne, having none of his owne; and I back again with him to the Chequer, at Charing Crosse, and there put up my owne dull jade, and by his advice saddled a delicate stone horse of Captain Ferrers's, and with that rid in state to the Parke, where none better mounted than I almost, but being in a throng of horses, seeing the King's riders showing tricks with their managed horses, which were very strange, my stone-horse was very troublesome, and begun to fight with other horses, to the dangering him and myself, and with much ado I got out, and kept myself out of harm's way. Here I saw nothing good, neither the King, nor my Lady Castlemaine, nor any great ladies or beauties being there, there being more pleasure a great deal at an ordinary day; or else those few

good faces that there were choked up with the many bad ones, there being people of all sorts to some thousands, I think. Going thither in the highway, just by the Parke gate, I met a boy in a sculler boat, carried by a dozen people at least, rowing as hard as he could drive, it seems upon some wager. By and by, about seven or eight o'clock, homeward; and changing my horse again, I rode home, coaches going in great crowds to the further end of the towne almost. In my way, in Leadenhall Streete, there was morris-dancing, which I have not seen a great while. So set my horse up at Game's, paying 5s. for him, and went to hear Mrs. Turner's daughter play on the harpsicon; but, Lord! it was enough to make any man sicke to hear her; yet I was forced to commend her highly. So home to supper. This day Captain Grove sent me a side of pork, which was the oddest present, sure, that was ever made any man; and the next, I remember I told my wife, I believe would be a pound of candles, or a shoulder of mutton; but the fellow do it in kindness, and is one I am beholden to. So to bed very weary, and a little galled for lack of riding, praying to God for a good journey to my father, of whom I am afeard, he being so lately ill.

2nd. Being weary last night, I slept till almost seven o'clock, a thing I have not done many a day. So up and to my office, being come to some angry words with my wife about neglecting the keeping of the house clean, I calling her beggar, and she me pricklouse, which vexed me. So to the Exchange and then home to dinner, and very merry and well pleased with my wife, and so to the office again, where we met extraordinary upon drawing up the debts of the Navy to my Lord Treasurer.

3rd (Lord's day). To church, where Sir W. Pen showed me the young lady which young Dawes, that

sits in the new corner-pew in the church, hath stole away from Sir Andrew Rickard, her guardian, worth 1,000*l.* per annum present, good land, and some money, and a very well-bred and handsome lady: he, I doubt, but a simple fellow. However, he got this good luck to get her, which methinks I could envy him with all my heart. To church in the afternoon and so home again, and up to teach Ashwell the grounds of time and other things on the tryangle, and made her take out a Psalm very well, she having a good eare and hand.

4th. The dancing-master came, whom standing by, seeing him instructing my wife, when he had done with her, he would needs have me try the steps of a coranto;¹ and what with his desire and my wife's importunity, I did begin, and then was obliged to give him entry-money 10*s.*, and am become his scholler. The truth is, I think it a thing very useful for a gentleman, and sometimes I may have occasion of using it, and though it cost me what I am heartily sorry it should, besides that I must by my oathe give half as much more to the poor, yet I am resolved to get it up some other way, and then it will not be above a month or two in the year. So though it be against my stomach yet I will try it a little while; if I see it comes to any great inconvenience or charge I will fling it off. After I had begun with the steps of half a coranto, which I think I shall learn well enough, he went away, and we to dinner, and by and by out by coach, and set my wife down at my Lord Crew's, and I to St. James's; where Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen and I staid a good while for the Duke's coming in, but not coming, we walked to White Hall; and meeting the King, we followed him into the Parke, where Mr. Coventry and he talking of building a new yacht, which the King is

¹ *Coranto*. See note, 31st Dec. 1662. (M. B.)

resolved to have built out of his privy purse, he having some contrivance of his own. The talke being done, we fell off to White Hall, leaving the King in the Parke, and going back, met the Duke going towards St. James's to meet us. So he turned back again, and to his closett at White Hall; and there, my Lord Sandwich present, we did our weekly errand, and so broke up; and I down into the garden with my Lord Sandwich (after we had sat an houre at the Tangier Committee); and after talking largely of his own businesses, we began to talk how matters are at Court: and though he did not flatly tell me any such thing, yet I do suspect that all is not kind between the King and the Duke, and that the King's fondness to the little Duke do occasion it; and it may be that there is some fear of his being made heire to the Crown. But this my Lord did not tell me, but is my guess only; and that my Lord Chancellor is without doubt falling past hopes.

5th. Walked a good while up and down with Sir J. Minnes, he telling many old stories of the Navy, and of the state of the Navy at the beginning of the late troubles, and I am troubled at my heart to think, and shall hereafter cease to wonder, at the bad success of the King's cause, when such a knave as he (if it be true what he says) had the whole management of the fleete, and the design of putting out of my Lord Warwicke,¹ and carrying the fleete to the King, wherein he failed most fatally to the King's ruine. In the evening Deane of Woolwich went home with me and showed me the use of a little sliding ruler, less than that I bought the other day, which is the same with that, but more portable. I find him an ingenious fellow, and a good servant in his place to the King. Then came Sir W. Warren,

¹ Henry Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland; beheaded for putting himself in arms to aid Charles I.

and he and I talked about merchandise, trade, and getting of money. I made it my business to enquire what way there is for a man bred like me to come to understand anything of trade. He did most discretely answer me in all things, shewing me the danger for me to meddle either in ships or merchandise of any sort or common stocks, but what I have to keep at interest, which is a good, quiett, and easy profit, and once in a little while something offers that with ready money you may make use of money to good profit. Wherein I concur much with him, and parted late with great pleasure and content in his discourse.

6th. Towards noon to the Exchange with Creed, where we met Sir J. Minnes coming in his coach from Westminster, who tells us, in great heat, that the Parliament will make mad work; that they will render all men incapable of any military or civil employment that have borne arms in the late troubles against the King, excepting some persons; which, if it be so, as I hope it is not, will give great cause of discontent, and I doubt will have but bad effects. To the Trinity House, and there dined, where, among other discourse worth hearing among the old seamen, they tell us that they have catched often in Greenland in fishing whales with the iron grapnells that had formerly been struck into their bodies covered over with fat; that they have had eleven hogsheads of oyle out of the tongue of a whale.

7th. To Westminster, and there up and down from the Hall to the Lobby, the Parliament sitting. Sir Thomas Crew this day tells me that the Queene, hearing that there was 40,000*l.* per annum brought into her account among the other expences of the Crown to the Committee of Parliament, she took order to let them know that she hath yet for the payment of her whole family received but 4,000*l.*, which

is a notable act of spirit, and I believe is true. So by coach to my Lord Crew's, and there dined with him. He tells me of the order the House of Commons have made for the drawing an Act for the rendering none capable of preferment or employment in the State, but who have been loyall and constant to the King and Church; which will be fatal to a great many, and makes me doubt lest I myself, with all my innocence during the late times, should be brought in, being employed in the Exchequer; but, I hope, God will provide for me.

8th. To my office, there preparing letters to my father of great import in the settling of our affairs, and putting him upon a way of good husbandry, I promising to make out of my own purse him up to 50*l.* per annum, till either by my uncle Thomas's death or the fall of the Wardrobe place he be otherwise provided. That done I by water to the Strand, and there viewed the Queene-Mother's works at Somersett House, and thence to the new playhouse, but could not get in to see it. So to visit my Lady Jemimah, who is grown much since I saw her; but lacks mightily to be brought into the fashion of the court to set her off. Thence to the Temple, and there sat till one o'clock reading at Playford's in Dr. Usher's body of Divinity his discourse of the Scripture, which is as much, I believe, as is anywhere said by any man, but yet there is room to cavill, if a man would use no faith to the tradition of the Church in which he was born, which I think to be as good an argument as most is brought for many things, and it may be for that among others. Thence to my brother's, and there took up my wife and Ashwell to the Theatre Royall,¹ being the second day of its being opened. The house is made with extraordinary good contrivance, and yet hath some faults, as the

¹ Near Drury Lane. See Note, 19th March, 1666. (M. B.)

narrowness of the passages in and out of the pitt, and the distance from the stage to the boxes, which I am confident cannot hear; but for all other things it is well, only, above all, the musique being below, and most of it sounding under the very stage, there is no hearing of the bases at all, nor very well of the trebles, which sure must be mended. The play was "The Humerous Lieutenant,"¹ a play that hath little good in it, nor much in the very part which, by the King's command, Lacy now acts instead of Clun. In the dance, the tall devil's actions was very pretty. The play being done, we home by water, having been a little shamed that my wife and woman were in such a pickle, all the ladies being finer and better dressed in the pitt than they used, I think, to be. To my office to set down this day's passage, and, though my oathe against going to plays do not oblige me against this house, because it was not then in being, yet believing that at the time my meaning was against all publique houses, I am resolved to deny myself the liberty of two plays at Court, which are in arreare to me for the months of March and April, which will more than countervail the excess, so that this month of May is the first that I must claim a liberty of going to a Court play according to my oathe. So to supper, and at supper comes Pembleton, and afterwards we all up to dancing till late, and they say that I am like to make a dancer.

9th. Up betimes and to my office, whither sooner than ordinary comes Mr. Hater desiring to speak a word to me alone; which I was from the disorder of his countenance amused at, and so the poor man began telling me that by Providence being the last Lord's day at a meeting of some Friends upon doing of their duties, they were surprised, and he carried to the Counter, but afterwards released; however,

¹ By Beaumont and Fletcher. (M. B.)

hearing that Sir W. Batten do hear of it, he thought it good to give me an account of it, lest it might tend to any prejudice to me. I was extraordinary surprised with it, and troubled for him, knowing that now it is out it is impossible for me to conceal it, or keep him in employment under me without danger to myself. I cast about all I could, and did give him the best advice I could, desiring to know if I should promise that he would not for the time to come commit the same, he told me he desired that I would rather forbear to promise that, for he durst not do it, whatever God in His providence shall do with him, and that for my part he did bless God and thank me for all the love and kindness I have shewed him hitherto. I could not without tears in my eyes discourse with him further, but at last did pitch upon telling the truth of the whole to Mr. Coventry as soon as I could, and to that end did use means to prevent Sir W. Batten from going to that end to-day, lest he might doe it to Sir G. Carteret or Mr. Coventry before me; which I did prevail and kept him at the office all the morning. At noon dined at home with a heavy heart for the poor man, and after dinner went to Westminster, where at Mr. Jervas's, my old barber, I did try two or three borders and perriwiggs, meaning to wear one; and yet I have no stomach for it, but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great. He trimmed me, and at last I parted, but my mind was almost altered from my first purpose, from the trouble that I foresee will be in wearing them also.

10th (Lord's day). Up betimes, and put on a black cloth suit, with white lynyngs under all, as the fashion is to wear, to appear under the breeches. So being ready walked to St. James's, where I sat talking with Mr. Coventry about several businesses of the Navy, and afterwards, the Duke being gone out, he and I

walked to White Hall together over the Parke, I telling him what had happened to Tom Hater, at which he seems very sorry, but tells me that if it is not made very publique, it will not be necessary to put him away at present, but give him good caution for the time to come. However, he will speak to the Duke about it and know his pleasure. Parted with him there, and I walked back to St. James's, and was there at masse, and was forced in the crowd to kneel down ; and masse being done, to the King's Head ordinary, whither I sent for Mr. Creed and there we dined, where many Parliament-men ; and most of their talk was about the news from Scotland, that the Bishop of Galloway was besieged in his house by some woman, and had like to have been outraged, but I know not how he was secured ; which is bad news, and looks just as it did in the beginning of the late troubles. From thence they talked of rebellion ; and I perceive they make it their great maxime to be sure to master the City of London, whatever comes of it or from it. After that to some other discourse, and, among other things, talking of the way of ordinaries, that it is very convenient, because a man knows what he hath to pay : one did wish that, among many bad, we could learn two good things of France, which were that we would not think it below the gentleman, or person of honour at a taverne, to bargain for his meat before he eats it ; and next, to take no servant without certificate from some friend or gentleman of his good behaviour and abilities. Hence with Creed into St. James's Parke, and there walked all the afternoon, and thence on foot home, and after a little while at my office walked in the garden with my wife, and so to supper, and after prayers to bed.

11th. Up betimes, and by water to Woolwich on board the Royall James, to see in what dispatch she

is to be carried about to Chatham. So to the yarde a little, and thence on foot to Greenwich, where going I was set upon by a great dogg, who got hold of my garters, and might have done me hurt; but, Lord, to see in what a maze I was, that, having a sword about me, I never thought of it, or had the heart to make use of it, but might, for want of that courage, have been worried. Took water there and home, and after dinner by coach with Sir W. Pen to St. James's, where we attended the Duke of York: and, among other things, Sir G. Carteret and I had a great dispute about the different value of the pieces of eight rated by Mr. Creed at 4s. and 5*d.*, and by Pitts at 4s. and 9*d.*, which was the greatest husbandry to the King? he persisting that the greatest sum was; which is as ridiculous a piece of ignorance as could be imagined. However, it is to be argued at the Board, and reported to the Duke next week; which I shall do with advantage, I hope. I went homeward, after a little discourse with Mr. Pierce the surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings near the King's chamber at Court; and that the other day Dr. Clerke and he did dissect two bodies, a man and a woman, before the King, with which the King was highly pleased. I called upon Mr. Crumlum, and did give him the 10s. remaining, not laid out of the 5*l.* I promised him for the schoole, with which he will buy strings, and golden letters upon the books I did give them. So home, and finding Pembleton there we did dance till it was late, and so to supper and to bed.

12th. A little angry with my wife for minding nothing now but the dancing-mastèr, having him come twice a day, which is a folly. To my office, where we sat late, our chief business being the reconciling the business of the pieces of eight mentioned yesterday before the Duke of York, wherein

I have got the day, and they are all brought over to what I said, of which I am proud.

13th. Busy all the morning, and at noon home to dinner, and after dinner Pembleton came and I practised. But, Lord! to see how my wife will not be thought to need telling by me or Ashwell, and yet will plead that she has learnt but a month, which causes many short fallings out between us. Mr. Barrow, storekeeper of Chatham, came, who tells me many things, how basely Sir W. Batten has carried himself to him, and in all things else like a passionate dotard, to the King's great wrong. God mend all, for I am sure we are but in an ill condition in the Navy, however the King is served in other places. Home to supper, to cards, and to bed.

14th. Met Mr. Moore; and with him to an ale-house in Holborne; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the Crown upon the little Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, unless it be his due! He told me my Lord do begin to settle to business again, which I am glad of, for he must not sit out, now he has done his owne business by getting his estate settled, and that the King did send for him the other day to my Lady Castlemaine's, to play at cards, where he lost 50*l.*; for which I am sorry, though he says my Lord was pleased at it, and said he would be glad at any time to lose 50*l.* for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like. This day we received a baskett from my sister Pall, made by her of paper, which hath a great deale of labour in it for country innocent work.

15th. I walked in the Parke, discoursing with the keeper of the Pell Mell, who was sweeping of it; who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered, and spread to keep it fast; which, how-

ever, in dry weather, turns to dust and deads the ball. Thence to Mr. Coventry; and sitting by his bedside, he did tell me that he sent for me to discourse upon my Lord Sandwich's allowances for his several pays, and what his thoughts are concerning his demands; which he could not take the freedom to do face to face, it being not so proper as by me: and did give me a most friendly and ingenuous account of all; telling me how unsafe, at this juncture, while every man's, and his actions particularly, are descanted upon, it is either for him to put the Duke upon doing, or my Lord himself to desire anything extraordinary, 'specially the King having been so bountifull already; which the world takes notice of even to some repinings. All which he did desire me to discourse to my Lord of; which I have undertaken to do. We talked also of our office in general, with which he told me that he was now-a-days nothing so satisfied as he was wont to be. I confess I told him things are ordered in that way that we must of necessity break in a little time a pieces. After done with him about these things, he told me that for Mr. Hater the Duke's word was in short that he found he had a good servant, an Anabaptist, and unless he did carry himself more to the scandal of the office, he would bear with his opinion till he heard further, which do please me very much. Thence walked to Westminster, and there up and down in the Hall and the Parliament House all the morning; and at noon by coach to my Lord Crew's, hearing that my Lord Sandwich dined there; where I told him what had passed between Mr. Coventry and myself; with which he was contented, though I could perceive not very well pleased. And I do believe that my Lord do find some other things go against his mind in the house; for in the motion made the other day in the House by my Lord Bruce, that none

be capable of employment but such as have been loyal and constant to the King and Church, that the General [Monk] and my Lord were mentioned to be excepted; and my Lord Bruce did come since to my Lord, to clear himself that he meant nothing to his prejudice, nor could it have any such effect if he did mean it. After discourse with my Lord, to dinner with him; there dining there my Lord Montagu¹ of Boughton, Mr. William Montagu his brother, the Queene's Sollicitor, &c., and a fine dinner. Their talk about a ridiculous falling-out two days ago at my Lord of Oxford's house, at an entertainment of his, there being there my Lord of Albemarle, Lynsey, two of the Porters, my Lord Bellasses, and others, where there were high words and some blows, and pulling off of perriwiggs; till my Lord Monk took away some of their swords, and sent for some soldiers to guard the house till the fray was ended. To such a degree of madness the nobility of this age is come! After dinner I went up to Sir Thomas Crew, who lies there not very well in his head, being troubled with vapours and fits of dizzinesse: and there I sat talking with him all the afternoon from one discourse to another, the most was upon the unhappy posture of things at this time; that the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business; that my Lady Castlemaine rules him, who, he says, hath all the tricks of Aretin² that are to be practised. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice, and move him in anything that is to his good and honour, the other

¹ Edward, second Lord Montagu of Boughton, in 1664 succeeded his father, who had been created a Baron by James I., and died 1683, leaving a son, afterwards Duke of Montagu.

² "The name of Aretin will be execrated by the modest and virtuous for the obscenities, the profane and immoral writings with which he has insulted the world. He died 1556."—LEMPRIERE'S *Universal Biography*. (M. B.)

part, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear nor listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies : when, God knows ! it is they that now-a-days do most study his honour. It seems the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir Charles Barkeley ; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again ; there being now little for him to do, and he waits at Court attending to speak to the King as others do : which I pray God may prove of good effects, for it is feared it will be the same with my Lord Treasurer shortly. But strange to hear how my Lord Ashley, by my Lord Bristol's means (he being brought over to the Catholique party against the Bishoppes, whom he hates to the death, and publicly rails against them ; not that he is become a Catholique, but merely opposes the Bishoppes ; and yet, for aught I hear, the Bishopp of London keeps as great with the King as ever) is got into favour, so much that, being a man of great business and yet of pleasure, and drolling too, he, it is thought, will be made Lord Treasurer upon the death or removal of the good old man.¹ My Lord Albemarle, I hear, do bear through and bustle among them, and will not be removed from the King's good opinion and favour, though none of the Cabinett ; but yet he is envied enough. It is made very doubtful whether the King do not intend the making of the Duke of Monmouth legitimate ; but surely the Commons of England will never do it, nor the Duke of York suffer it, whose lady, I am told, is very troublesome

¹ The Earl of Southampton.

to him by her jealousy. But it is wonderful that Sir Charles Barkeley should be so great still, not [only] with the King, but Duke also; who did so stiffly swear that he had lain with her. No care is observed to be taken of the main chance, either for maintaining of trade or opposing of factions, which, God knows, are ready to break out, if any of them (which God forbid!) should dare to begin; the King and every man about him minding so much their pleasures or profits. My Lord Hinchinbroke, I am told, hath had a mischance to kill his boy by his birding-piece going off as he was a-fowling. The gun was charged with small shot, and hit the boy in the face and about the temples, and he lived four days. In Scotland, it seems, for all the newes-books tell us every week that they are all so quiett, and everything in the Church settled, the old woman had like to have killed, the other day, the Bishop of Galloway, and not half the Churches of the whole kingdom conform. Strange were the effects of the late thunder and lightning about a week since at Northampton, coming with great rain, which caused extraordinary floods in a few houres, bearing away bridges, drowning horses, men, and cattle. Two men passing over a bridge on horseback, the arches before and behind them were borne away, and that left which they were upon: but, however, one of the horses fell over, and was drowned. Stacks of fag-gots carried as high as a steeple, and other dreadful things; which Sir Thomas Crew showed me letters to him about from Mr. Freemantle and others, that it is very true. The Portugalls have choused¹ us, it seems, in the Island of Bombay, in the East

¹ A *chiaus* was a Turkish word signifying "interpreter." In 1609 Sir Robert Shirley sent a messenger, or *chiaus*, to this country as his agent. Sir Robert followed him as Ambassador from the Grand Signior and the Sophy; but before he reached England his agent had *chiaused* the Turkish and Persian merchants here of

Indys ; for after a great charge of our fleets being sent thither with full commission from the King of Portugall to receive it, the Governour by some pretence or other will not deliver it to Sir Abraham Shipman, sent from the King, nor to my Lord of Marlborough ;¹ which the King takes highly ill, and I fear our Queene will fare the worse for it. The Dutch decay there exceedingly, it being believed that their people will revolt from them there, and they forced to give over their trade. Sir Thomas showed me his picture and Sir Anthony Vandike's, in crayon in little, done exceedingly well. Having thus freely talked with him, and of many more things, I took leave, and by coach to St. James's, and there told Mr. Coventry what I had done with my Lord with great satisfaction, and so well pleased home.

16th. After dinner comes Pembleton, and I being out of humour would not see him, pretending business, but, Lord ! with what jealousy did I walk up and down my chamber listening to hear whether they danced or no. So to my office awhile, and, my jealousy still reigning, I went in and did go up to them to practise, and did make an end of "*La Duchesse*," which I think I should, with a little pains, do very well.

17th (Lord's day). Up and in my chamber all the morning, preparing my great letters to my father, stating to him the perfect condition of our estate.

18th. I walked to White Hall, and into the Parke, 4,000*l.* and taken his flight. This is alluded to by Ben Jonson in the *Alchemist*, which appeared in 1610 :

"*D.* What do you think of me,
That I am a *chiaus* ?

F. What's that ?

D. The Turk was here.
As one would say, Do you think I am a Turk ?"

Alchemist, act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

¹ James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, killed in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, 1665.

seeing the Queene and Mayds of Honour passing through the house going to the Parke. But above all, Mrs. Stuart is a fine woman, and they say now a common mistress to the King, as my Lady Castlemaine is; which is a great pity. Thence taking a coach to Mrs. Clerke's, took her, and my wife, and Ashwell, and a Frenchman, a kinsman of hers, to the Parke, where we saw many fine faces, and one exceeding handsome, in a white dress over her head, with many others very beautiful. Staying there till past eight at night, I carried Mrs. Clerke and her Frenchman home, and thence home ourselves, talking much of what we had observed to-day of the poor household stuff of Mrs. Clerke and mere show and flutter that she makes in the world; and pleasing myself in my owne house and manner of living more than ever I did by seeing how much better and more substantially I live than others do.

19th. With Sir John Minnes to the Tower; and by Mr. Slingsby, and Mr. Howard, Controller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money. That being done, the Controller would have us dine with him and his company, the King giving them a dinner every day. And very merry and good discourse about the business we have been upon, and after dinner went to the Assay Office and there saw the manner of assaying of gold and silver, and how silver melted down with gold do part, just being put into aqua-fortis, the silver turning into water, which they can bring again into itself out of the water. And here I was made thoroughly to understand the business of the fineness and coarseness of metals, and have put down my lessons with my other observations therein. At table they told us of two cheats, the best I ever heard. One, of a labourer discovered to convey away the bits of silver by swallowing them, and so they could not find him

out, though, of course, they searched all the labourers; but, having reason to doubt him, they did, by threats and promises, get him to confess, and did find 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ of it in his house at one time. The other that got a way of coyning as good and passable and large as the true money is, and yet saved fifty per cent. to himself, which was by getting moulds made to stamp groats like old groats, which is done so well, and I did beg two of them which I keep for rarities, that there is not better in the world, and is as good, nay, better than those that commonly go, which was the only thing that they could find out to doubt them by, besides the number that the party do go to put off, and then coming to the Comptroller of the Mint, he could not, I say, find out any other thing to raise any doubt upon, but only their being so truly round or near it. He was neither hanged nor burned, the cheat was thought so ingenious, and being the first time they could ever trap him in it, and so little hurt to any man in it, the money being as good as commonly goes. Thence to the office till the evening, and then over the water to the Half-way House, where we played at nine-pins. Then home to supper and bed, being late. The most observables in the making of money which I observed to-day, is the steps of their doing it.

1. Before they do anything they assay the bullion, which is done, if it be gold, by taking an equal weight of that and of silver, of each a small weight, which they reckon to be six ounces or half a pound troy; this they wrap up in within leade. If it be silver, they put such a quantity of that alone and wrap it up in leade, and then putting them into little earthen cupps made of stuffe like tobacco pipes, and put them into a burning hot furnace, where, after a while, the whole body is melted, and at last the leade in both is sunk into the body of the cupp, which carries away

all the copper or dross with it, and left the pure gold and silver embodied together, of that which hath both been put into the cupp together, and the silver alone in these where it was put alone in the leaden case. And to part the silver and the gold in the first experiment, they put the mixed body into a glass of aqua-fortis, which separates them by spitting out the silver into such small parts that you cannot tell what it becomes, but turns into the very water and leaves the gold at the bottom clear of itself, with the silver wholly spit out, and yet the gold in the form that it was double together in when it was a mixed body of gold and silver, which is a great mystery; and after all this is done to get the silver together out of the water is as strange. But the nature of the assay is thus: the piece of gold that goes into the furnace twelve ounces, if it comes out again eleven ounces, and the piece of silver which goes in twelve and comes out again eleven and two pennyweights, are just of the alloy of the standard of England. If it comes out, either of them, either the gold above eleven, as very fine will sometimes within very little of what it went in, or the silver above eleven and two pennyweight, as that also will sometimes come out eleven and ten penny weight or more, they are so much above the goodness of the standard, and so they know what proportion of worse gold and silver to put to such a quantity of the bullion to bring it to the exact standard. And on the contrary, if it comes out lighter, then such a weight is beneath the standard, and so requires such a proportion of fine metal to be put to the bullion to bring it to the standard, and this is the difference of good and bad, better and worse than the standard, and also the difference of standards, that of Seville being the best and that of Mexico worst, and I think they said none but Seville is better than ours.

2. They melt it into long plates, which, if the mould do take ayre, then the plate is not of an equal heaviness in every part of it, as it often falls out.

3. They draw these plates between rollers to bring them to an even thickness all along and every plate of the same thickness, and it is very strange how the drawing it twice easily between the rollers will make it as hot as fire, yet cannot touch it.

4. They bring it to another pair of rollers, which they call adjusting it, which bring it to a greater exactness in its thickness than the first could be.

5. They cut them into round pieces, which they do with the greatest ease, speed, and exactness in the world.

6. They weigh these, and where they find any to be too heavy they file them, which they call sizing them, or light, they lay them by, which is very seldom, but they are of a most exact weight, but however, in the melting, all parts by some accident not being close alike, now and then a difference will be, and, this filing being done, there shall not be any imaginable difference almost between the weight of forty of these against another forty chosen by chance out of all their heapes.

7. These round pieces having been cut out of the plates, which in passing the rollers are bent, they are sometimes a little crooked or swelling out or sinking in, and therefore they have a way of clapping 100 or 2 together into an engine, which with a screw presses them so hard that they come out as flat as is possible.

8. They bleach them.

9. They mark the letters on the edges, which is kept as the great secret by Blondeau, who was not in the way, and so I did not speak with him to-day.

10. They mill them, that is, put on the marks on both sides at once with great exactness and speed,

and then the money is perfect. The mill is after this manner: one of the dyes, which has one side of the piece cut, is fastened to a thing fixed below, and the other dye (and they tell me a payre of dyes will last the marking of £10,000 before it be worne out, they and all other their tools being made of hardened steel, and the Dutchman who makes them is an admirable artist, and has so much by the pound for every pound that is coyned to find a constant supply of dyes) to an engine above, which is moveable by a screw, which is pulled by men; and then a piece being clapped by one sitting below between the two dyes, when they meet the impression is set, and then the man with his finger strikes off the piece and claps another in, and then the other men they pull again and that is marked, and then another and another with great speede. They say that this way is more charge to the King than the old way, but it is neater, freer from clipping or counterfeiting, the putting of the words upon the edges being not to be done (though counterfeited) without an engine of the charge and noise that no counterfeit will be at or venture upon, and it employs as many men as the old and speedier. They now coyne between '16 and 24,000 pounds in a week. At dinner they did discourse very finely to us of the probability that there is a vast deal of money hid in the land, from this:—that in King Charles's time there was near ten millions of money coyned, besides what was then in being of King James's and Queene Elizabeth's, of which there is a good deale at this day in being. Next, that there was but 750,000*l.* coyned of the Harp and Crosse money,¹ and of this there was 500,000*l.* brought in upon its being called in. And from very good arguments they find that there cannot

¹ The money coined by the Commonwealth, having on one side the cross of St. George, and on the other a harp. (M. B.)

be less of it in Ireland and Scotland than 100,000*l.*; so that there is but 150,000*l.* missing; and of that, suppose that there should be not above 50,000*l.* still remaining, either melted down, hid, or lost, or hoarded up in England, there will then be but 100,000*l.* left to be thought to have been transported. Now, if 750,000*l.* in twelve years' time lost but a 100,000*l.* in danger of being transported, then 10,000,000*l.* in thirty-five years' time will have lost but 3,888,880*l.* and odd pounds; and as there is 650,000*l.* remaining after twelve years' time in England, so after thirty-five years' time, which was within this two years, there ought in proportion to have been resting 6,111,120*l.* or thereabouts, beside King James's and Queene Elizabeth's money. Now that most of this must be hid is evident, as they reckon, because of the dearth of money immediately upon the calling-in of the State's money, which was 500,000*l.* that came in; and yet there was not any money to be had in this City, which they say to their own observation and knowledge was so. And therefore, though I can say nothing in it myself, I do not dispute it.

20th. Going down by water to Woolwich took my wife and Ashwell, and going out met Mr. Howe come to see me, and took him with us. The tide against us, so I went ashore at Greenwich before, and did my business at the yarde about putting things in order as to their proceeding to build the new yacht ordered to be built by Christopher Pett, and so to Woolwich towne, where at an alehouse I found them ready to attend my coming, and so took boat again, my walke being very pleasant along the green corne and pease, and most of the way sang, he and I, and eat some cold meat we had, and with great pleasure home, and so he took horse again, and Pembleton coming, we danced a country dance or two and so broke up and to bed, my mind restless and like to

be so while she learns to dance. God forgive my folly.

21st. To dinner, my wife and I having high words about her dancing to that degree that I did retire and make a vowe to myself not to oppose her or say anything to dispraise or correct her therein as long as her month lasts, in pain of 2s. 6d. for every time, which, if God pleases, I will observe, for this roguish business has brought us more disquiett than anything that has happened a great while. After dinner to my office, where late, and then home; and Pembleton being there again, we fell to dance a country dance or two, and so to supper and to bed. But being at supper my wife did say something that caused me to oppose her in, she used the word devil, which vexed me, and among other things I said I would not have her to use that word, she took me up most scornfully, which, before Ashwell and the rest of the world, I know not now-a-days how to checke. So that I fear without great discretion I shall go near to lose too my command over her, and nothing do it more than giving her this occasion of dancing and other pleasures, whereby her mind is taken up from her business and finds other sweets besides pleasing of me. But if this month of her dancing were but out I shall hope with a little pains to bring her to her old wont.

22nd. Up pretty betimes, and shall, I hope, come to myself and business again, after a small playing the truant, for I find that my interest and profit do grow daily, for which God be praised and keep me to my duty. To my office, and anon one tells me that Rundall, the house-carpenter of Deptford, hath sent me a fine blackbird, which I went to see. He tells me he was offered 20s. for him as he came along, he do so whistle. Busy all the morning learning to understand the course of the tides, and I

think I do now do it. At noon Mr. Creed comes to me, and he and I walked pleasantly to Woolwich, in our way hearing the nightingales sing. Took boat at Greenwich and to Deptford, and found Davis, the storekeeper, a knave and shuffling in the business of Bewpers with Young and Whistler to abuse the King, but I hope I shall be even with them. So home by water and to bed.

23rd. Waked this morning between four and five by my blackbird, which whistles as well as ever I heard any; only it is the beginning of many tunes very well, but there leaves them, and goes no further. To White Hall; where, in the Matted Gallery, Mr. Coventry was, who told us how the Parliament have required of Sir G. Carteret and him an account what money shall be necessary to be settled upon the Navy for the ordinary charge, which they intend to report 200,000*l.* per annum. And how to allot this we met this afternoon, and took their papers for our perusal, and so we parted. Only there was walking in the gallery some of the Barbary company, and there we saw a draught of the armes of the company, which the King is of, and so is called the Royall Company, which is, in a field argent an elephant proper, with a Canton on which England and France is quartered, supported by two Moores. The crest an anchor winged, I think it is, and the motto too tedious: "*Regio floret patrocinio commercium, commercioque Regnum.*" Thence back by water to Greatorex's, and there he showed me his varnish which he had invented, which appears every whit as good, upon a stick which he hath done, as the Indian, though it did not do very well upon my paper ruled with musique lines, for it sunk and did not shine.

24th (Lord's day). Forebore going to church this morning. At noon, dinner, and my wife telling me that there was a pretty lady come to church with Peg

Pen to-day, I against my intention had a mind to go to church to see her, and did so, and she is pretty handsome. After sermon to Sir W. Pen's. So home, and read to my wife a fable or two in Ogleby's *Æsop*, and so to supper, and then to prayers and to bed. My wife this evening discoursing of making clothes for the country, which I seem against, pleading lacke of money, but I am glad of it in some respects because of getting her out of the way from this fellow Pembleton, and my own liberty to look after my owne business more than of late I have done.

25th. Ashwell came to me with an errand from her mistress to desire money to buy a country suit for her against she goes as we talked last night, and so I did give her 4*l.*, and believe it will cost me the best part of 4 more to fit her out, but with peace and honour I am willing to spare anything so as to be able to keep all ends together, and my power over her undisturbed. To St. James's, and staid there to speak with my Lord Sandwich, and in my staying, meeting Mr. Lewis Phillips of Brampton, he and afterwards others tell me that newes came last night to Court, that the King of France is sicke of the spotted fever, and that they are struck in again; and this afternoon my Lord Mandeville is gone from the King to make him a visit; which will be great newes, and of great import through Europe. By and by, out comes my Lord Sandwich: he told me this day a vote hath passed that the King's grants of land to my Lord Monk and him should be made good; which pleases him very well. He also tells me that things do not go right in the House with Mr. Coventry; I suppose he means in the business of selling of places; but I am sorry for it. Thence by coach home, where I found Pembleton, and so I up to dance with them till the evening, when there came

Mr. Alsopp, the King's brewer, and Lanyon of Plymouth to see me. Mr. Alsopp tells me of a horse of his that lately, after four days' pain, voided four stones, bigger than that I was cut of, very heavy, and in the middle of each of them either a piece of iron or wood. The King has two of them in his closett, and a third the College of Physicians to keep for rarity.

27th. With Pett to my Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer; where we met the auditors about settling the business of the accounts of persons to whom money is due before the King's time in the Navy, and the clearing of their imprests for what little of their debts they have received. I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready, quick, and diligent person. Thence I to Westminster Hall, where Terme and Parliament make the Hall full of people; no further newes yet of the King of France, whether he be dead or not. Here I met with my cozen Roger Pepys, and he tells me that his sister Claxton now resolving to give over the keeping of his house at Impington, he thinks it fit to marry again, and would have me, by the helpe of my uncle Wight or others, to look him out a widow between thirty and forty years old, without children, and with a fortune, which he will answer in any degree with a joynture fit for her fortune. A woman sober, and no high-flyer, as he calls it. I demanded his estate. He tells me, which he says also he hath not done to any, that his estate is not full 800*l.* per annum, but it is 780*l.* per annum, of which 200*l.* is by the death of his last wife, which he will allot for a joynture for a wife, but the rest, which lies in Cambridgeshire, he is resolved to leave entire for his eldest son. I undertook to do what I can in it, and so I shall. He tells me that the King hath sent to the Parliament to hasten to make an end by midsummer, because of

his going into the country; so they have set upon four bills to dispatch: the first of which is, he says, too devilish a severe act against conventicles; so beyond all moderation, that he is afraid it will ruin all: telling me that it is matter of the greatest grief to him in the world, that he should be put upon this trust of being a Parliament-man, because he says nothing is done, that he can see, out of any truth and sincerity, but mere envy and design. Thence by water to Chelsey, all the way reading a little book I bought of "Improvement of Trade," a pretty book; and many things useful in it. So walked to Little Chelsey, where I found my Lord Sandwich with Mr. Becke, the master of the House, and Mr. Creed at dinner, and I sat down with them, and very merry. After dinner (Mr. Gibbons being come in also before dinner done) to musique, they played a good Fancy,¹ to which my Lord is fallen again, and says he cannot endure a merry tune, which is a strange turn of his humour, after he has for two or three years flung off the practice of Fancies¹ and played only fiddlers' tunes. Then into the Great Garden up to the Banqueting House; and there by my Lord's glass we drew in the species² very pretty. Afterwards to ninepins, where I won a shilling, Creed and I playing against my Lord and Cooke. This day there was great thronging to Banstead Downes, upon a great horse-race and foot-race. I am sorry I could not go thither. So home, where I find my wife in a musty humour, and tells me before Ashwell that

¹ *Fancies*. A name for a sort of light ballads, or airs. "And sung those tunes to the over-scuthed huswives that he heard the carmen whistle, and sware they were his *fancies* or his good-nights." —SHAKESPEARE, 2 *Henry IV.*, act iii. sc. 2. Nares' "Glossary." (M. B.)

² This word is here used as an optical term, and signifies the image painted on the retina of the eye, and the rays of light reflected from the several points of the surface of objects.

Pembleton had been there, and she would not have him come in unless I was there, which I was ashamed of; but however, I had rather it should be so than the other way. So to my office, and by and by comes Pembleton, and word is brought me from my wife thereof that I might come home. So I sent word that I would have her go dance, and I would come presently. So being at a great loss whether I should appear to Pembleton or no, I at last resolved to go home, and took Tom Hater with me, and staid a good while in my chamber, and there took occasion to tell him how I hear that Parliament is putting an act out against all sorts of conventicles, and did give him good counsel, not only in his owne behalfe, but my owne, that if he did hear or know anything that could be said to my prejudice, that he would tell me, for in this wicked age (specially Sir W. Batten being so open to my reproaches, and Sir J. Minnes, for the neglect of their duty, and so will think themselves obliged to scandalize me all they can to right themselves if there shall be any inquiry into the matters of the Navy, as I doubt there will) a man ought to be prepared to answer for himself in all things that can be inquired concerning. After much discourse of this nature to him I sent him away, and then went up, and there we danced country dances, and single, my wife and I; and my wife paid him off for this month also, and so he is cleared. After dancing we took him down to supper, and were very merry, and I made myself so, and kind to him as much as I could.

28th. To Dr. Williams, to reckon with him for physique that my wife has had for a year or two, coming to almost 4*l*. Then to the Exchange, where I hear that the King had letters yesterday from France that the King there is in a way of living again, which I am glad to hear. At the coffee-house

in Exchange Alley I bought a little book, "Counsell to Builders," by Sir Balth. Gerbier.¹ It is dedicated almost to all the men of any condition in England, so that the Epistles are more than the book itself, and both it and them not worth a farthing, that I am ashamed that I bought it. By water, and Creed with us, to the Royall Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's House; and there saw "Hamlett" done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid? but neither spoke, danced, nor sung; which I was sorry for. But she becomes the stage very well. Thence by water home, after we had walked to and fro, backwards and forwards, 6 or 7 times in the Temple walkes, disputing whether to go by land or water. By land home, and thence by water to Halfway House, and there eat some supper we carried with us, and so walked home again, it being late, and by and by to bed, Creed lying with me in the red chamber all night.

29th. This day is kept strictly as a holy-day, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill temper of the City at this time, either to religion in general, or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and those poor people. To the Royall Theatre, but they not acting to-day, then to the Duke's house, and there saw "The Slighted Mayde,"² wherein Gosnell acted Pyramena, a great part, and did it very well, and I believe will do it better and better, and

¹ A painter of Antwerp, recommended by Buckingham to Charles I., who knighted him and sent him to Brussels as Resident for the King. He died 1661. (M. B.)

² A comedy, by Sir Robert Stapylton.

prove a good actor. The play is not very excellent, but is well acted, and in general the actors, in all particulars, are better than at the other house. Thence to the Cocke alehouse, and there having drunk, I sent them with Creed to see the German Princesse,¹ at the Gate-house, at Westminster, and I to my brother's, to speak with him, and so home and to my office to put down these two days' journalls, and to supper, and then Creed and I to bed with good discourse, only my mind troubled about my spending my time so badly for these seven or eight days; but I must impute it to the disquiet that my mind has been in of late about my wife, and for my going these two days to plays, for which I have paid the due forfeit by money and abating the times of going to plays at Court, which I am now to remember that I have cleared all my times that I am to go to Court plays to the end of this month, and so June is the first time that I am to begin to reckon.

30th. Up betimes, and Creed and I by water to Fleet Streete, and my brother not being ready, he and I walked to the New Exchange, and there drank our morning draught of whay, the first I have done this year; but I perceive the lawyers come all in as they go to the Hall, and I believe it is very good. So to my brother, and there I found my aunt James, a poor, religious, well-meaning, good soul, talking of nothing but God Almighty, and that with so much innocence that mightily pleased me. Here was a fellow that said grace so long like a prayer; I believe the fellow is a cunning fellow, and yet I by my brother's desire did give him a crowne, he being in great want, and, it seems, a parson among the fanatiques, and a cozen of my poor aunt's, whose prayers she told me did do me good among the many good

¹ Mary Carleton, of whom see more June 7 following, and April 15, 1664.

souls that did by my father's desires pray for me when I was cut of the stone, and which God did hear, which I also in complaisance did owne; but, God forgive me, my mind was otherwise. I had a couple of lobsters and some wine for her.

31st (Lord's day). Lay long in bed talking with my wife, and do plainly see that her distaste (which is beginning now in her again) against Ashwell arises from her jealousy of me and her, and my neglect of herself, which indeed is true, and I to blame; but for the time to come I will take care to remedy all. So up and to church. Home to dinner, and after dinner up and read part of the new play of "The Five Houres' Adventures,"¹ which though I have seen it twice, yet I never did admire or understand it enough, it being a play of the greatest plot that ever I expect to see, and of great vigour quite through the whole play, from beginning to the end. To church again after dinner, and there the Scot preaching I slept most of the sermon. Being come from church, I to make up my month's accounts, and find myself clear worth 726*l.*, for which God be praised. This month the greatest newes is, the height and heat that the Parliament is in, in enquiring into the revenue, which displeases the Court, and their backwardness to give the King any money. Their enquiring into the selling of places do trouble a great many; among the chief, my Lord Chancellor (against whom particularly it is carried), and Mr. Coventry; for which I am sorry. The King of France was given out to be poisoned and dead; but it proves to be the measles: and he is well, or likely to be soon well again. I find myself growing in the esteem and credit that I have in the office, and I hope falling to my business again will confirm me in it, and the

¹ Said to be adapted by Lord Bristol and Sir Samuel Tuke from Calderon's "Los Empeños de Seis Horas." (M. B.)

saving of money, which God grant. So to supper and to bed. Will having neglected to brush my clothes, as he ought to do, till I was ready to go to church, and not then till I bade him, I was very angry, and seeing him make little matter of it, but seeming to make it a matter indifferent whether he did it or no, I did give him a box on the eare, and had it been another day should have done more. This is the second time I ever struck him.

June 1st Begun again to rise betimes by 4 o'clock, and made an end of "The Adventures of Five Houres," and it is a most excellent play. So to my office and then to my brother's, where I dined (being invited) with Mr. Peter and Deane Honiwood,¹ where Tom did give us a very pretty dinner, and we very pleasant, but not very merry, the Deane being but a weak man, though very good. I was forced to rise, being in haste to attend the Duke; but the Duke having been a-hunting to-day, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and we walked away. And I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand May-pole;² and there 'light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day

¹ Dean of Lincoln. (M. B.)

² The May-pole in the Strand was set up by John Clarges, a blacksmith, whose daughter Ann became the wife of Monk, Duke of Albemarle. It was taken down in 1713 and a new one erected where now is the new church, opposite Somerset House.

"Amid that area wide they took their stand,
Where the tall *May-pole* once o'erlooked the Strand;
But now (So Anne and Piety ordain)
A church collects the saints of Drury Lane."

POPE, *The Dunciad*.

The pole was taken down in 1717. Its height above ground was originally above one hundred feet. Sir Isaac Newton begged it of the parish and sent it to the Rector of Wanstead, who set it up in Wanstead Park to sustain the largest telescope then in Europe. (M. B.)

begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I came and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life: and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood: and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a most sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. It was very well worth seeing, because I did till this day think that it has only been a cheate; but this being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of their swords, and found it to be very little, if at all blunter on the edge, than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deale of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout. But a woeful rude rabble there was, and such noises, made my head ake all this evening. So, well pleased for once with this sight, I walked home. This day I hear at Court of the great plot which was lately discovered in Ireland, made among the Presbyters and others, designing to cry up the Covenant, and to secure Dublin Castle and other places; and they have debauched a good part of the army there, promising them ready money. Some of the Parliament there, they say, are guilty, and some withdrawn upon it; several persons taken, and among others a son of Scott's, that was executed here for the King's murder. What reason the King hath, I know not; but it seems he is doubtfull of Scotland: and this afternoon, when I was there, the Council was called extraordinary; and they were opening the letters this last post's coming and going between Scotland and us and other places. Blessed be God, my head and hands are clear, and therefore my sleep safe. The King of France is well again.

2d. To St. James's, to Mr. Coventry; where I

had an hour's private talke with him. Most of it was discourse concerning his own condition, at present being under the censure of the House, being concerned with others in the Bill for selling of offices. He tells me, that though he thinks himself to suffer much in his fame hereby, yet he values nothing more of evil to hang over him; for that it is against no statute, as is pretended, nor more than what his predecessors time out of mind have taken; and that so soon as he found himself to be in an errour, he did desire to have his fees set, which was done; and since that time he hath not taken a token more. He undertakes to prove, that he did never take a token of any captain to get him employed in his life beforehand, or demanded any thing: and for the other accusation, that the Cavaliers are not employed, he looked over the list of them now in the service, and of the twenty-seven that are employed, thirteen have been heretofore always under the King; two neutralls, and the other twelve men of great courage, and such as had either the King's particular commands, or great recommendation to put them in, and none by himself. Besides that, he says it is not the King's nor Duke's opinion that the whole party of the late officers should be rendered desperate. And lastly, he confesses that the more of the Cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleete; and that, whenever there comes occasion, it must be the old ones that must do any good, there being only, he says, but Captain Allen good for anything of them all. He tells me, that he cannot guess whom all this should come from; but he suspects Sir G. Carteret, as I also do, at least that he is pleased with it. But he tells me that he will bring Sir G. Carteret to be the first adviser and instructor of him what is to make his place of benefit to him; telling him that Smith did make his place worth 5,000*l*. and he be-

lieved 7,000*l.* to him the first year; besides something else greater than all this, which he forbore to tell me. It seems one Sir Thomas Tomkins¹ of the House, that makes many mad motions, did bring it into the House, saying that a letter was left at his lodgings, subscribed by one Benson (which is a feigned name, for there is no such man in the Navy), telling him how many places in the Navy have been sold. And by another letter, left in the same manner since, nobody appearing, he writes him that there is one Hughes and another Butler (both rogues, that have for their roguery been turned out of their places), that will swear that Mr. Coventry did sell their places and other things. I offered him my service, and will with all my heart serve him; but he tells me he do not think it convenient to meddle, or to any purpose, but is sensible of my love therein. So away to Westminster Hall, where I hear more of the plot from Ireland; which it seems hath been hatching, and known to the Lord Lieutenant a great while, and kept close till within three days that it should have taken effect. The terme ended yesterday, and it seems the Courts rose sooner, for want of causes, than it is remembered to have done in the memory of man. To Mr. Beacham, the goldsmith, he being one of the jury to-morrow in Sir W. Batten's case against Field. I have been telling him our case, and I believe he will do us good service there. So home, and dined with Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, and others, at Sir W. Batten's, Captain Allen giving them a Foy² dinner, he being to go down to lie Admiral in the Downes this summer. To-night I took occasion with the vintner's man, who came by my direction to taste again my tierce of claret, to go down to the cellar with him to consult

¹ M.P. for Weobly, and one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak, for Herefordshire.

² See note 20th March, 1660. (M. B.)

about the drawing of it ; and there, to my great vexation, I find that the cellar door hath long been kept unlocked, and above half the wine drunk. I was deadly mad at it, and examined my people round, but nobody would confess it. My wife did also this evening tell me a story of Ashwell stealing some new ribbon from her, a yarde or two, which I am sorry to hear, and I fear my wife do take a displeasure against her, that they will hardly stay together, which I should be sorry for, because I know not where to pick such another out anywhere.

3rd. Up betimes, and studying of my double horizontal diall against Deane Honiwood comes to me, who dotes mightily upon it, and I think I must give it him. So after talking with Sir W. Batten, who is this morning gone to Guildhall to his trial with Field, I to my office, and there read all the morning in my statute-book, consulting among others the statute against selling of offices, wherein Mr. Coventry is so much concerned ; and though he tells me that the statute do not reach him, yet I much fear that it will. At noon, hearing that the trial is done, and Sir W. Batten come to the Sun behind the Exchange I went thither, where he tells me that he had much ado to carry it on his side, but that at last he did, but the jury, by the Judge's favour, did give us but 10*l.* damages and the charges of the suit, which troubles me ; but it is well it went not against us, which would have been much worse. So to the Exchange, and thence home to dinner, taking Deane of Woolwich along with me, and he and I spent all the afternoon finely, learning of him the method of drawing the lines of a ship, to my great satisfaction, and which is well worth my spending some time in, as I shall do when my wife is gone into the country.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and after I had staid

in the Hall a good while, where I heard that this day the Archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon,¹ a man well spoken of by all for a good man, is dead; and the Bishop of London² is to have his seat. Home by water, where by and by comes Deane Honiwood, and I showed him my double horizontal diall, and promise to give him one, and that shall be it. So, without eating or drinking, he went away to Mr. Turner's, where Sir J. Minnes do treat my Lord Chancellor and a great deale of guests to-day with a great dinner, which I thank God I do not pay for; and besides, I doubt it is too late for any man to expect any great service from my Lord Chancellor, for which I am sorry, and pray God a worse do not come in his room. By and by comes Will Howe to see us, and walked with me an houre in the garden, talking of my Lord's falling to business again, which I am glad of, and his coming to lie at his lodgings at White Hall again. The match between Sir J. Cutts³ and my Lady Jemimah,⁴ he says, is likely to go on; for which I am glad. In the Hall to-day Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queene begins to be briske, and play like other ladies, and is quite another woman from what she was. It may be, it may make the King like her the better, and forsake his two mistresses, my Lady Castlemaine and Stewart.⁵

5th. Up, and by and by the carver coming, I directed him how to make me a neat head for my viall that is making. About 10 o'clock my wife and I, not without some discontent, abroad by coach, and I set her at her father's; but their condition is such

¹ William Juxon, made Bishop of London 1633, translated to Canterbury 1660.

² Gilbert Sheldon, who did succeed him.

³ Of Childerley, near Cambridge.

⁴ Lady Jemima Montagu, daughter to the Earl of Sandwich.

⁵ Spelt indiscriminately in the MS. Stuart, Steward, and Stewart.

that she will not let me see where they live, but goes by herself when I am out of sight. Thence to my brother's, taking care for a passage for my wife the next week in a coach to my father's, and thence to Paul's Churchyarde, where I found several books ready bound for me; among others, the new Concordance of the Bible, which pleases me much, and is a book I hope to make good use of. Thence, taking the little History of England with me, I went by water to Deptford, where Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten attending the pay; I dined with them, and there Dr. Britton, parson of the towne, a fine man and good company, dined with us, and good discourse. I left them and to Mr. Turner's, and there saw Mr. Edward Pepys's lady, who my wife concurs with me to be very pretty, as most women we ever saw.

6th. Walked, drinking my morning draft of whay by the way, to York House, where the Russia Embassador do lie; and there I saw his people go up and down louseing themselves: they are all in a great hurry, being to be gone the beginning of next week. But that that pleased me best, was the remains of the noble soul of the late Duke of Buckingham appearing in his house, in every place, in the door-cases and the windows. By and by comes Sir John Hebdon, the Russia Resident, to me, and he and I in his coach to White Hall, to Secretary Morrice's, to see the orders about the Russia hempe that is to be fetched from Archangel for our King, and that being done, to coach again, and he brought me into the City and so I home; and after dinner abroad by water, and met by appointment Mr. Deane in the Temple Church, and he and I over to Mr. Blackbury's yarde, and thence to other places, and after that to a drinking house, in all which places I did so practise and improve my measuring of timber, that I can now do

it with great ease and perfection, which do please me mightily. This fellow Deane is a conceited fellow, and one that means the King a great deale of service, more of disservice to other people that go away with the profits which he cannot make; but, however, I learn much of him, and he is, I perceive, of great use to the King in his place, and so I shall give him all the encouragement I can. Home by water, and having wrote a letter for my wife to my Lady Sandwich to copy out to send this night's post, I to the office, and wrote there myself several things, and so home to supper and bed. My mind being troubled to think into what a temper of neglect I have myself flung my wife into by my letting her learn to dance, that it will require time to cure her of, and I fear her going into the country will but make her worse; but only I do hope in the meantime to spend my time well in my office, with more leisure than while she is here. Hebden, to-day in the coach, did tell me how he is vexed to see things at Court ordered as they are by nobody that attends to business, but every man himself or his pleasures. He cries up my Lord Ashley to be almost the only man that he sees to look after business; and with that ease and mastery, that he wonders at him. He cries out against the King's dealing so much with goldsmiths, and suffering himself to have his purse kept and commanded by them. He tells me also with what exact care and order the States of Holland's stores are kept in their Yards, and every thing managed there by their builders with such husbandry as is not imaginable; which I will endeavour to understand further, if I can by any means learn.

7th (Lord's day). Whit Sunday. Lay long talking with my wife, sometimes angry and ended pleased and hope to bring our matters to a better posture in a little time, which God send. So up and to church,

where Mr. Mills preached, but, I know not how, I slept most of the sermon. Thence home, and dined with my wife and Ashwell and after dinner discoursed very pleasantly and so I to church again in the afternoon and, the Scot preaching, again slept all the afternoon, and by and by to Sir W. Batten's, to talk about business, where my Lady Batten inveighed mightily against the German Princesse,¹ and I as high in the defence of her wit and spirit, and glad that she is cleared at the sessions. Thence to Sir W. Pen, who I found ill again of the gout, he tells me that now Mr. Castle and Mrs. Martha Batten do owne themselves to be married, and have been this fortnight. Much good may it do him, for I do not envy him his wife. So home, and there my wife and I had an angry word or two upon discourse of our boy, compared with Sir W. Pen's boy, whom I say is much prettier than ours and she the contrary. It troubles me to see that every small thing is enough now-a-days to bring a difference between us. Mrs. Turner, who is often at Court, do tell me to-day that for certain the Queene hath much changed her humour, and is become very pleasant and sociable as any; and they say is with child, or believed to be so.

8th. To my office, and thence by coach with Sir J. Minnes to St. James's to the Duke, where Mr. Coventry and us two did discourse with the Duke a little about our office business, and so to rights home again. After dinner my wife and I had a little jangling, in which she did give me the lie, which vexed me, so that finding my talking did but make

¹ This impostor, called the German princess, was tried for bigamy at the Old Bailey and acquitted; she had inveigled a young citizen into marriage under pretence of being a German princess, the citizen pretending, at the same time, to be a nobleman. For her appearance on the stage see Diary, 15th April, 1664. (M. B.)

her worse, and that her spirit is lately come to be other than it used to be, and now depends upon her having Ashwell by her, before whom she thinks I shall not say nor do anything of force to her, which vexes me and makes me wish that I had better considered all that I have of late done concerning my bringing my wife to this condition of heat, I went up vexed to my chamber and there fell examining my new concordance, that I have bought, with Newman's, the best that ever was out before, and I find mine altogether as copious as that and something larger, though the order in some respects not so good, that a man may think a place is missing, when it is only put in another place. Up by and by my wife comes and good friends again, and to walk in the garden and so anon to supper and to bed.

9th. After ordering some things towards my wife's going into the country, to the office, where I spent the morning upon my measuring rules very pleasantly till noon, and then comes Creed and he and I talked about mathematiques, and he tells me of a way found out by Mr. Jonas Moore¹ which he calls duodecimal arithmetique, which is properly applied to measuring, where all is ordered by inches, which are 12 in a foot, which I have a mind to learn.

10th. All the morning helping my wife to put up her things towards her going into the country and drawing the wine out of my vessel to send. To dinner, and thence to the Royal Theatre by water, and landing, met with Captain Ferrers his friend, the little man that used to be with him, and he with us, and sat by us while we saw "Love in a Maze."²

¹ Sir Jonas Moore, an able mathematician, born at Whitby, 1620. At the Restoration Charles II. made him Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. He obtained the foundation of a mathematical school at Christ's Hospital. See Diary, 23rd May, 1661. (M. B.)

² By Shirley, licensed 1631. (M. B.)

The play is pretty good, but the life of the play is Lacy's part, the clowne, which is most admirable; but for the rest, which are counted such old and excellent actors, in my life I never heard both men and women so ill pronounce their parts, even to my making myself sicke therewith. Thence, Creed happening to be with us, we four to the Half-Moone Taverne, I buying some sugar and carrying it with me, which we drank with wine and thence to the whay-house, and drank a great deal of whay, and so by water home, and thence to see Sir W. Pen who is not in much pain, but his legs swell and so immoveable that he cannot stir them, but as they are lifted by other people and I doubt will have another fit of his late pain. Played a little at cards with him and his daughter who is grown every day a finer and finer lady, and so home to supper and to bed. When my wife and I came first home we took Ashwell and all the rest below in the cellar with the vintner drawing out my wine, which I blamed Ashwell much for and told her my mind that I would not endure it, nor was it fit for her to make herself equal with the ordinary servants of the house.

11th. Spent most of the morning upon my measuring Ruler and with great pleasure I have found out some things myself of great dispatch, more than my book teaches me, which pleases me mightily. Sent my wife's things and the wine to-day by the carrier to my father, but staid my boy from a letter of my father's, wherein he desires that he may not come to trouble his family as he did the last year. Dined at home and then to the office, where we sat all the afternoon, and at night home and spent the evening with my wife and she and I did jangle mightily about her cushions that she wrought with worsteds the last year, which are too little for any use, but were good friends by and by again. But

one thing I must confess I do observe, which I did not before, which is, that I cannot blame my wife to be now in a worse humour than she used to be, for I am taken up in my talke with Ashwell, who is a very witty girle, that I am not so fond of her as I used and ought to be, which now I do perceive I will remedy, but I would to the Lord I had never taken any, though I cannot have a better than her. The consideration that this is the longest day in the year is unpleasant to me.

12th. At noon to the Exchange and so home to dinner, and abroad with my wife by water to the Royall Theatre; and there saw "The Committee,"¹ a merry but indifferent play, only Lacey's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge,² and his Lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad; but when the House began to fill she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself.³

13th. Up and betimes to Thames Streete among the tarr men, to look the price of tarr and so to the office and there had a difference with Sir W. Batten about Mr. Bowyer's tarr, which I am resolved to cross, though he sent me last night, as a bribe, a barrel of sturgeon, which, it may be, I shall send back, for I will not have the King abused so abominably in the price of what we buy, by Sir W. Batten's

¹ "The Committee," a comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

² Thos. Bellasses Viscount Falconberg, frequently called Falconbridge, married Mary, third daughter of Oliver Cromwell. She died 1712.

³ Black masks were frequently worn by ladies in public in the time of Shakespeare, particularly, and perhaps universally, at the theatres. See Nares' "Glossary." (M. B.)

corruption and underhand dealing. So from the office, Mr. Wayth with me, to the Parliament House and there I told Sir G. Carteret all with which he is well pleased, and do recall his willingness yesterday, it seems, to Sir W. Batten, that we should buy a great quantity of tarr, being abused by him. Thence with Mr. Wayth after drinking a cupp of ale at the Swan, talking of the corruption of the Navy and so home, and after dinner bywater to the Royall Theatre, where I resolved to bid farewell, as shall appear by my oathes to-morrow against all plays either at publique houses or Court till Christmas be over. Here we saw "The Faithfull Sheeheardesse,"¹ a most simple thing, and yet much thronged after, and often shown, but it is only for the scenes' sake, which is very fine indeed and worth seeing; but I am quite out of opinion with any of their actings, but Lacy's, compared with the other house. Thence to see Mrs. Hunt, which we did and were much made of; and in our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also, for which I am sorry. Thence by coach, with a mad coachman, that drove like mad, and down byeways, through Bucklersbury home, everybody through the streete cursing him, being ready to run over them. Yesterday, upon conference with the King in the Banqueting House, the Parliament did agree with much ado, it being carried but by forty-two voices, that they would supply him with a sum of money; but what and how is not yet known, but expected to be done with great disputes the next week. But if done at all, it is well.

14th (Lord's day). To church. Then to dinner, and Tom dined with me, who I think grows a very thriving man, as he himself tells me. He being

¹ By John Fletcher, published 1610. (M. B.)

gone, and sending my people to church, my wife and I did even our reckonings, and had a great deale of serious talke, wherein I took occasion to give her hints of the necessity of our saving all we can. I do see great cause every day to curse the time that ever I did give way to the taking of a woman for her, though I could never have had a better, and also the letting of her learne to dance, by both which her mind is so devilishly taken off her business and minding her occasions, and besides has got such an opinion in her of my being jealous, that it is never to be removed, I fear, nor hardly my trouble that attends it; but I must have patience. I did give her 40s. to carry into the country to-morrow with her, whereof 15s. is to go for the coach-hire for her and Ashwell, there being 20s. paid here already in earnest. In the evening our discourse turned to great content and love, and I hope that after a little forgetting our late differences, and being a while absent one from another, we shall come to agree as well as ever. So to Sir W. Pen's to visit him, and finding him alone, sent for my wife, who is in her riding-suit, to see him, which she hath not done these many months I think. By and by in comes Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten, and so we sat talking. Among other things, Sir J. Minnes brought many fine expressions of Chaucer, which he doats on mightily, and without doubt he is a very fine poet.

15th. Up betimes, and anon my wife did rise and did give me her keys, and put other things in order and herself against going this morning into the country. I was forced to go to Thames Street and strike up a bargain for some tarr, to prevent being abused therein by Hill, who is mightily surprised that I should tell him what I can have the same tarr with his for. Thence home, but finding my wife gone, I took coach and after her to her inne, where I am

troubled to see her forced to sit in the back of the coach, though pleased to see her company none but women and one parson; and so, kissing her often, and Ashwell once, I bid them adieu. So home by coach, and thence by water to Deptford to the Trinity House, where I came a little late; but I found them reading their charter, which they did like fools, only reading here and there a bit, whereas they ought to do it all, every word, and then proceeded to the election of a maister, which was Sir W. Batten. Then to the choice of their assistants and wardens, and so rose. I might have received 2s. 6d. as a younger Brother, but I directed one of the servants of the House to receive it and keep it. Thence to church, where Dr. Britton preached a sermon full of words against the Nonconformists, but no great matter in it, nor proper for the day at all. His text was, "With one mind and one mouth give glory to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." That done, by water, I in the barge with the Maister, to the Trinity House at London; where, among others, I found my Lord Sandwich and Craven, and my cousin Roger Pepys, and Sir Wm. Wheeler. Anon we sat down to dinner, which was very great, as they always have. Great variety of talke. Mr. Prin, among many, had a pretty tale of one that brought in a bill in parliament for the empowering him to dispose his land to such children as he should have that should bear the name of his wife. It was in Queen Elizabeth's time. One replied that there are many species of creatures where the male gives the denomination to both sexes, as swan and woodcocke, but not above one where the female do, and that is a goose. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sand-

wich is very scepticall. He says the greatest war-rants that ever he had to believe any, is the present appearing of the Devil¹ in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down. There are books of it, and, they say, very true; but my Lord observes, that though he do answer to any tune that you will play to him upon another drum, yet one tune he tried to play and could not; which makes him suspect the whole; and I think it is a good argument. Sometimes they talked of handsome women, and Sir J. Minnes saying that there was no beauty like what he sees in the country-markets, and specially at Bury, in which I will agree with him that there is the prettiest women I ever saw. My Lord replied thus: "Sir John, what do you think of your neighbour's wife?" looking upon me. "Do you not think that he hath a great beauty to his wife? Upon my word he hath." Which I was not a little proud of. Thence by barge with my Lord to Blackfriars, and thence walked home, my head akeing with the healths I was forced to drink to-day, and up to my wife's closett, and there played on my viallin a good while, and without supper anon to bed, sad for want of my wife, whom I love with all my heart, though of late she has given me some troubled thoughts.

16th. Dined with Sir W. Batten; who tells me that the House have voted the supply, intended for the King, shall be by subsidy.

17th. Up before 4 o'clock, which is the houre I

¹ Joseph Glanville published a Relation of the famed disturbance at the house of Mr. Mompesson, at Tedworth, Wilts, occasioned by the beating of an invisible drum every night for a year. This story, which was believed at the time, furnished the plot for Addison's play of "The Drummer, or the Haunted House." In the "Mercurius Publicus," April 16-23, 1663, there is a curious examination on this subject, by which it appears that one William Drury, of Uscut, Wilts, was the invisible drummer.

intend now to rise at, and to my office a while, and with great pleasure I fell to my business again. Thence to White Hall, and in the garden spoke to my Lord Sandwich, who is in his gold-buttoned suit, as the mode is, and looks nobly. Captain Ferrers, I see, is come home from France. He tells me the young gentlemen are well there; so my Lord went to my Lord Albemarle's to dinner, and I by water home. I sent my cozen Edward Pepys his Lady, at my cozen Turner's, a piece of venison given me yesterday, and Madam Turner I sent for a dozen bottles of her's, to fill with wine for her. This day I met with Pierce the surgeon, who tells me that the King has made peace between Mr. Edward Montagu and his father Lord Montagu, and that all is well again; at which, for the family's sake, I am very glad, but do not think it will hold long.

18th. Up by four o'clock and to my office, where all the morning writing out in my Navy collections the ordinary estimate of the Navy, and did it neatly. Then dined at home alone, my mind pleased with business, but sad for the absence of my wife. After dinner half an hour at my viallin, and then all the afternoon sitting at the office late, and so home and to bed.

19th. To Lambeth, expecting to have seen the Archbishop lie in state; but it seems he is not laid out yet. And so over to White Hall, and at the Privy Seale Office examined the books, and found the grant of increase of salary to the principall officers in the year 1639, 300*l*. among the Controller, Surveyor, and Clerk of the Shippes. Met Captain Ferrers; who tells us that the King of France is well again, and that he saw him train his Guards, all brave men, at Paris; and that when he goes to his mistresse, Madame La Valiere, a pretty little woman, now with child by him, he goes with his guards with

him publicly, and his trumpets and kettle-drums with him; and yet he says that, for all this, the Queene do not know of it, for that nobody dares to tell her; but that I dare not believe. Thence I to Wilkinson's, where we had bespoke a dish of pease, where we eat them very merrily, and there being with us the little gentleman, a friend of Captain Ferrers, that was with my wife and I at a play a little while ago, we went thence to the Rhenish wine-house, where we called for a red Rhenish wine called Bleahard, a pretty wine, and not mixed, as they say. Here Mr. Moore showed us the French manner, when a health is drunk, to bow to him that drunk to you, and then apply yourself to him, whose lady's health is drunk, and then to the person that you drink to, which I never knew before; but it seems it is now the fashion. Thence by water home and to bed, having played out of my chamber window on my pipe, and making Will read a part of a Latin chapter, in which I perceive in a little while he will be pretty ready, if he spends but a little pains in it.

20th. Mr. Deane, of Woolwich, with me, and he and I all the afternoon down by water, and in a timber yarde, measuring of timber, which I now understand thoroughly, and shall be able in a little time to do the King great service. Home in the evening, and after Will's reading a little in the Latin Testament to bed.

21st (Lord's day). Up betimes, and fell to reading my Latin grammar, which I perceive I have great need of, having lately found it by my calling Will to the reading of a chapter in Latin, and I am resolved to go through it. After being trimmed, I by water to White Hall, and so over the Parke to Mr. Coventry's chamber, where I spent two hours with him about business of the Navy, and how by his absence things are like to go with us. He shewed me a list,

which he hath prepared for the Parliament's view, if the business of his selling of offices should be brought to further hearing, wherein he reckons up, as I remember, 236 offices of ships which have been disposed of without his taking one farthing. This, of his own accord, he opened his cabinet on purpose to shew me, meaning, I suppose, that I should discourse abroad of it, and vindicate him therein, which I shall with all my power do. At home, being wet, shifted my band and things, and after dinner went up and tried a little upon my tryangle, which I understand fully, and with a little use I believe could bring myself to do something. So to church, and slept all the sermon, the Scot, to whose voice I am not to be reconciled, preaching. So to my office, and read my vows seriously and with content, and so home to supper, prayers, and bed.

22nd. To my office, reading over all our letters of the office that we have wrote since I came into the Navy, whereby to bring the whole series of matters into my memory, and to enter in my manuscript some of them that are needful and of great influence. By and by with Sir W. Batten by coach to Westminster, where all along I find the shops evening with the sides of the houses, even in the broadest streets; which will make the City very much better than it was. I walked in the Hall from one man to another, and hear that the House is still divided about the manner of levying the subsidys which they intend to give the King, both as to the manner, the time, and the number. It seems the House do consent to send to the King to desire that he would be graciously pleased to let them know who it was that did inform him of what words Sir Richard Temple¹ should say, which were to this purpose: "That

¹ Sir Richard Temple, of Stowe, Bart., M.P. for Buckingham, and K.B. Ob. 1694.

if the King would side with him, or be guided by him and his party, that he should not lacke money :” but without knowing who told it, they do not think fit to call him to any account for it. Thence with Creed and bought a lobster, and then to an ale-house. Here we eat it, and thence to walk in the Parke a good while. The Duke being gone a-hunting, and by and by came in and shifted himself; he having in his hunting, rather than go about, light and led his horse through a river up to his breast, and came so home : and being ready, we had a long discourse with him. But Creed’s accounts stick still through the perverse ignorance of Sir G. Carteret, which I cannot safely control as I would. Thence to the Parke again with Creed, talking, who is so knowing, and a man of that reason, that I cannot but love his company, though I do not love the man, because he is too wise to be made a friend of, and acts all by interest and policy, but is a man fit to learn of. So to White Hall, and meeting Strutt, the purser, he tells me for a secret that he was told by Field that he had a judgment against me in the Exchequer for 400/. So I went to Sir W. Batten, and taking Mr. Batten, his son the counsellor, with me, by coach, I went to Clerke, our Solicitor, who tells me there can be no such thing. I returned home and to my office, setting down this day’s passages, and went to supper, and then a Latin chapter of Will and to bed.

23rd. Up by four o’clock, and so to my office ; but before I went out, calling, as I have of late done, for my boy’s copy-book, I found that he had not done his taske ; so I beat him, and then went up to fetch my rope’s end, but before I got down the boy was gone. I searched the cellar with a candle, and from top to bottom could not find him high nor low. So to the office ; and after an houre or two, by water to the Temple, to my cozen Roger ; who, I perceive,

is a deadly high man in the Parliament business, and against the Court, showing me how they have computed that the King hath spent, at least hath received, about four millions of money since he came in : and in Sir J. Winter's case, in which I spoke to him, he is so high that he says he deserves to be hanged, and all the high words he could give, which I was sorry to see, though I am confident he means well. To the 'Change ; and by and by comes the King and the Queene by in great state, and the streets full of people. I stood in Mr. ———'s balcone. They dine all at my Lord Mayor's ; but what he do for victuals, or room for them, I know not. So home to dinner alone, and there I found that my boy had got out of doors, and came in for his hat and band, and so is gone away to his brother ; but I do resolve even to let him go away for good and all. So I by and by to the office, and there had a great fray with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, who, like an old dotard, is led by the nose by him. It was in Captain Cocke's business of hempe, wherein the King is absolutely abused ; but I was for peace sake contented to be quiett and to sign to his bill, but in my manner so as to justify myself, and so all was well : but to see what a knave Sir W. Batten is makes my heart ake.

24th. Up before 4 o'clock, and so to my lute an hour or more, and then by water, drinking my morning draft alone at an alehouse, to St. James's, and there an houre's private discourse with Mr. Coventry, where he told me one thing to my great joy, that in the business of Captain Cocke's hempe, disputed before him the other day, Mr. Coventry absent, the Duke did himself tell him since, that Mr. Pepys and he did stand up and carry it against the rest that were there, Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Batten, which do please me much to see that the Duke do

take notice of me. Speaking of Sir G. Carteret slightly, and diminishing of his services for the King in Jersey ; that he was well rewarded, and had good lands and rents, and other profits from the King, all the time he was there ; and that it was always his humour to have things done his way. He brought an example how he would not let the Castle there be victualled for more than a month, that so he might keep it at his beck, though the people of the towne did offer to supply it more often themselves, which, when one did propose to the King, Sir George Carteret being by, says Sir George, " Let me know who they are that would do it, I would with all my heart pay them." " Ah, by God," says the Commander that spoke of it, " that is it that they are afeard of, that you would hug them," meaning that he would not endure them. Another thing he told me, how the Duke of York did give Sir G. Carteret and the Island his profits as Admirall, and other things, toward the building of a pier there. But it was never laid out, nor like to be. So it falling out that a lady being brought to bed, the Duke was to be desired to be one of the godfathers ; and it being objected that that would not be proper, there being no peer of the land to be joyned with him, the lady replied, " Why, let him choose ; and if he will not be a godfather without a peer, then let him even stay till he hath made a pier of his owne." He tells me, too, that he hath lately been observed to tack about at Court, and to endeavour to strike in with the persons that are against the Chancellor ; but this he says of him, that he do not say nor do any thing to the prejudice of the Chancellor. But he told me that the Chancellor was rising again, and that of late Sir G. Carteret's business and employment hath not been so full as it used to be while the Chancellor stood up. From that we discoursed of the evil of putting out men of

experience in business as the Chancellor, and from that to speak of the condition of the King's party at present, who, as the Papists, though otherwise fine persons, yet being by law kept for these fourscore years out of employment, they are now wholly incapable of business; and so the Cavaliers for twenty years, who, says he, for the most part have either given themselves over to look after country and family business, and those the best of them, and the rest to debauchery, &c.; and that was it that hath made him high against the late Bill brought into the House for the making all men incapable of employment that had served against the King. Why, says he, in the sea-service, it is impossible to do any thing without them, there being not more than three men of the whole King's side that are fit to command almost; and these were Captn. Allen, Smith, and Beech;¹ and it may be Holmes, and Utber, and Batts might do something. After a good deale of good and fine discourse, I took leave, and so to my Lord Sandwich's house, where I met my Lord, and there did discourse of our office businesses, and how the Duke do show me kindness though I have endeavoured to displease more or less of my fellow officers, all but Mr. Coventry and Pett; but it matters not. Yes, says my Lord, Sir J. Minnes, who is great with the Chancellor; I told him the Chancellor I have thought was declining, and however that the esteem he has among them is nothing but for a jester or a ballad maker; at which my Lord laughs, and asks me whether I believe he ever could do that well. Thence with Mr. Creed up and down to an ordinary, and, the King's Head being full, we went to the other over against it, a pretty man that keeps it, and good and much meat, better than the other,

¹ Probably Richard Beach, afterwards knighted, and in 1668 Commissioner at Portsmouth.

but the company and room so small that he must breake, and there wants the pleasure that the other house has in its company. Here however dined an old courtier that is now so, who did bring many examples and arguments to prove that seldom any man that brings any thing to Court gets any thing, but rather the contrary; for knowing that they have wherewith to live, they will not enslave themselves to the attendance, and flattery, and fawning condition of a courtier, whereas another that brings nothing, and will be contented to coy, and lie, and flatter every man and woman that has any interest with the persons that are great in favour, and can cheat the King, as nothing is to be got without offending God and the King, there he for the most part, and he alone, saves any thing. This day I observed the house, which I took to be the new tennis-court, newly built next my Lord's lodgings, to be fallen down by the badness of the foundation or slight working, which my cozen Roger and his discontented party cry out upon, as an example how the King's worke is done. It hath beaten down a good deal of my Lord's lodgings, and had like to have killed Mrs. Sarah, she having but newly gone out of it.

25th. Creed and I did draw up a letter to Sir G. Carteret in excuse and preparation for Creed against we meet before the Duke upon his accounts, but I am pleased to see with what secret cunning and variety of artifice this Creed has carried on his business even unknown to me. About this all the morning, only Mr. Bland came to me and told me the newes, which holds to be true, that the Portuguese did let in the Spaniard by a plot, and they being in the midst of the country and we believing that they would have taken the whole country, they did all rise and kill the whole body, near 8,000 men, and Don John of Austria having two horses killed under him, was

forced with one man to flee away. Sir G. Carteret at the office did tell us that upon Tuesday last, being with my Lord Treasurer, he showed him a letter from Portugall speaking of the advance of the Spaniards into their country, and yet that the Portuguese were never more courageous than now; for by an old prophecy sent thither some years though not many since from the French King, it is foretold that the Spaniards should come into their country, and in such a valley they should be all killed, and then their country should be wholly delivered from the Spaniards. This was on Tuesday last, and yesterday came the very first newes that in this very valley they had thus routed and killed the Spaniards, which is very strange but true. This noon I received a letter from the country from my wife, wherein she seems much pleased with the country; God continue that she may have pleasure while she is there. She, by my Lady's advice, desires a new petticoat of the new silke striped stuff, very pretty. So I went to Paternoster Row presently, and bought her a very fine rich one, the best I did see there, and much better than she desires or expects.

26th. Mr. Moore coming to see me, he and I discoursed of going to Oxford this commencement, Mr. Nathaniel Crew being Proctor and Mr. Childe commencing Doctor of Musique this year, which I have a great mind to do, and, if I can, will order my matters, so that I may do it. A sad season, that it is said there hath not been one fair day these three months, and I think it is true. At the Parliament House I spoke with Roger Pepys. The House is upon the King's answer to their message about Temple, which is, that my Lord of Bristoll did tell him that Temple did say those words; so the House are resolved upon sending some of their members to him to know the truth, and to demand satisfac-

tion if it be not true. Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lady Batten, and I by coach to Bednall Green, to Sir W. Rider's to dinner, where a fine place, good lady mother, and their daughter, Mrs. Middleton, a fine woman. A noble dinner, and a fine merry walke with the ladies alone after dinner in the garden; the greatest quantity of strawberrys I ever saw, and good. This very house¹ was built by the blind beggar of Bednall Green, so much talked of and sang in ballads; but they say it was only some of the outhouses of it. At table, discoursing of thunder and lightning, they told many stories of their own knowledge at table of their masts being shivered from top to bottom, and sometimes only within and the outside whole, but Sir W. Rider did tell a story of his own knowledge, that a Genoese gally in Legorne Roads was struck by thunder, so as the mast was broke a-pieces, and the shackle upon one of the slaves was melted clear off of his leg without hurting his leg. Sir William went on board the vessel, and would have contributed towards the release of the slave whom Heaven had thus set free, but he could not compass it, and so he was brought to his fetters again.

27th. Up by 4 o'clock and a little to my office. Then comes by agreement Sir W. Warren, and he and I from ship to ship to see deales of all sorts, whereby I have encreased my knowledge and with great pleasure. Then to his yarde and house, where I staid discoursing of the expense of the navy and the corruption of Sir W. Batten and his man Wood, that he brings or would bring to sell all that is to be sold by the Navy. To the Temple, and so to Lincoln's Inn, and there walked up and down to see the new garden which they are making, and will be very pretty, and so to walke under the Chappell by

¹ "Called Kirby Castle, the property of Sir William Ryder, Knight, who died therein 1669."—LYSON'S *Environs*.

agreement, whither Mr. Clerke our Solicitor came to me and he fetched Mr. Long, our Attorney in the Exchequer in the business against Field, and I directed him to come to the best and speediest composition he could, which he will do.

28th (Lord's day). Spent most of the afternoon reading in Cicero and other books. Cast up my monthly accounts and to my great trouble I find myself 7*l.* worse than I was the last month, but I confess it is by my reckoning beforehand a great many things, yet however I am troubled to see that I can hardly promise myself to lay up much from month's end to month's end, about 4*l.* or 5*l.* at most, one month with another, without some extraordinary gettings, but I must and I hope I shall continue to have a care of my own expenses. So to the reading my vows seriously and then to supper.

29th. Up and down the streets is cried mightily the great victory got by the Portugalls against the Spaniards, where 10,000 slain, 3 or 4,000 taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, money, &c., and Don John¹ of Austria forced to flee with a man or two with him. With my cozen Roger and Mr. Goldsborough to Gray's Inn to his counsel, one Mr. Rawworth, a very fine man, where it being the question whether I as executor should give a warrant to Goldsborough in my reconveying her estate back again, the mortgage being performed against all acts of the testator, but only my owne, my cozen said he never heard it asked before; and the other that it was always asked, and he never heard it denied, or scrupled before, so great a distance was there in their opinions, enough to make a man forswear ever having to do with the law; so they agreed to refer it to

¹ He was natural son of Philip IV., King of Spain, who after his father's death in 1665 exerted his whole influence to overthrow the Regency appointed during the young king's minority.

Serjeant Maynard. So home and I up to my lute long and then to bed.

30th. Yesterday and to-day the sun rising very bright and glorious ; and yet yesterday, as it hath been these two months and more, was a foul day the most part of the day. Creed and I to the Parke, whither by and by comes my Lord Sandwich, and he and we walked two hours and more in the Parke and then in Whitehall Gallery discoursing of Mr. Creed's accounts, and how to answer the Treasurer's objections. I find that the business is 500*l.* deep, the advantage of Creed, and why my Lord and I should be concerned to promote his profit with so much dishonour and trouble to us I know not, but however we shall do what we can, though he deserves it not, for there is nothing even to his own advantage that can be got out of him, but by mere force. So full of policy he is in the smallest matters, that I perceive him to be made up of nothing but design. I left him here, being in my mind vexed at the trouble that this business gets me and the distance that it makes between Sir G. Carteret and myself, which I ought to avoyde. This day the only fair day we have had these two or three months. Thus, by God's blessing, ends this book of two years;¹ I being in all points in good health and a good way to thrive and do well. Some money I do and can lay up, but not much, being worth now above 700*l.* besides goods of all sorts. My wife in the country with Ashwell, her woman, with my father ; myself at home with W. Hewer and my cooke-mayde Hannah, my boy Wayneman being lately run away from me. In my office, my repute and understanding good, specially with the Duke and Mr. Coventry ; only the rest of the officers do rather

¹ The end of the Second Volume of Pepys's MS. (M. B.)

envy than love me, I standing in most of their lights, specially Sir W. Batten, whose cheats I do daily oppose to his great trouble, though he appears mighty kind and willing to keep friendship with me, while Sir J. Minnes, like a dotard, is led by the nose by him. My wife and I by my late jealousy, for which I am truly to be blamed, have not the kindnesse between us which we used and ought to have and I fear will be lost hereafter if I do not take course to oblige her and yet preserve my authority. Publique matters are in an ill condition; Parliament sitting and raising four subsidys for the King, which is but a little, considering his wants; and yet that parted withal with great hardnesse. They being offended to see so much money go, and no debts of the publique's paid, but all swallowed by a luxurious Court: which the King it is believed and hoped will retrench in a little time, when he comes to see the utmost of the revenue which shall be settled on him: he expecting to have his 1,200,000*l.* made good to him, which is not yet done by above 150,000*l.* as he himself reports to the House. My differences with my uncle Thomas at a good quiett, blessed be God! and other matters. The towne full of the great overthrow lately given to the Spaniards by the Portugall, they being advanced into the very middle of Portugall. The weather wet for two or three months together beyond belief, almost not one fair day coming between till this day. The charge of the Navy intended to be limited to 200,000*l.* per annum, the ordinary charge of it, and that to be settled upon the Customes. The King yet greatly taken up with Madam Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, which God of Heaven put an end to! Myself very studious to learne what I can of all things necessary for my place, as an officer of the Navy, reading lately what concerns measuring of timber and knowledge of the

tides. I have of late spent much time with Creed, but I find him a fellow of those designs and tricks, that I must cast him off, though he be a very understanding man, and one that much may be learned of as to cunning and judging of other men. Besides too I do perceive more and more that my time of pleasure and idlenesse of any sort must be flung off to attend to getting of some money and the keeping of my family in order, which I fear by my wife's liberty may be otherwise lost.

July 1st. This morning it rained so hard (though it was fair yesterday, and we thereupon in hopes of having some fair weather, which we have wanted these three months) that it wakened Creed, who lay with me last night, and me. I hope we have this morning lighted on an expedient which will right all and yet save Creed the 500*l*. which he did propose to make of the exchange abroad of the pieces of eight which he disbursed. To Westminster Hall, and being in the Parliament lobby, I there saw my Lord of Bristoll come to the Commons House to give his answer to their question, about some words he should tell the King that were spoke by Sir Richard Temple a member of their House. A chair was set at the bar of the House for him, which he used but little, but made an harangue of half an houre bareheaded, the House covered. His speech being done, he came out and withdrew into a little room till the House had concluded of an answer to his speech ; which they staying long upon, I went away. And by and by out comes Sir W. Batten ; and he told me that his Lordship had made a long and a comediant-like speech, and delivered with such action as was not becoming his Lordship. He confesses he did tell the King such a thing of Sir Richard Temple, but that upon his honour the words were not spoke by Sir Richard, he having taken a liberty

of enlarging to the King upon the discourse which had been between Sir Richard and himself lately; and so took upon himself the whole blame, and desired their pardon, it being not to do any wrong to their fellow-member, but out of zeal to the King. He told them, among many other things, that as to his religion he was a Roman Catholique, but such a one as thought no man to have right to the Crown of England but the Prince that hath it; and such a one as, if the King should desire his counsel as to his owne, he would not advise him to another religion than the old true reformed religion of this country, it being the properest of this kingdom as it now stands; and concluded with a submission to what the House shall do with him, saying, that whatever they shall do, says he,—“thanks be to God, this head, this heart, and this sword (pointing to them all), will find me a being in any place in Europe.” The House hath hereupon voted clearly Sir Richard Temple to be free from the imputation of saying those words; but when Sir William Batten came out, had not concluded what to say to my Lord, it being argued that to owne any satisfaction as to my Lord from his speech, would be to lay some fault upon the King for the message he should upon no better accounts send to the impeaching of one of their members. Walking out, I hear that the House of Lords are offended that my Lord Digby¹ should come to this House and make a speech there without leave first asked of the House of Lords. I hear also of another difficulty now upon him; that my Lord of Sunderland² (whom I do not know) was so near to the marriage of his daughter, as that the wedding-clothes were made, and portion and every thing

¹ Digby, Earl of Bristol.

² Henry, fourth Lord Spence, and second Earl of Sunderland, Ambassador to Spain, 1671. Ob. 1702.

agreed on and ready; and the other day he goes away nobody yet knows whither, sending her the next morning a release of his right or claim to her, and advice to his friends not to enquire into the reason of this doing, for he hath enough for it; but that he gives them liberty to say and think what they will of him, so they do not demand the reason of his leaving her, being resolved never to have her, but the reason desires and resolves not to give. To Sir W. Batten, to the Trinity House; and after dinner we fell a-talking, Mr. Batten telling us of a late triall of Sir Charles Sedley¹ the other day, before my Lord Chief Justice Foster² and the whole bench, for his debauchery a little while since at Oxford Kate's.³ It seems my Lord and the rest of the Judges did all of them round give him a most high reproofe; my Lord Chief Justice saying, that it was for him, and such wicked wretches as he was, that God's anger and judgments hung over us, calling

¹ Sir Charles Sedley, Bart., celebrated for his wit and profligacy, and author of several plays. He is said to have been fined 500*l.* for this outrage. He was father to James II.'s mistress, created Countess of Dorchester, and died 1701.

² Sir Robert Foster, Knt. Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Ob. 1663.

³ The details in the original are too gross to print. What can be mentioned is told by Dr. Johnson in the *Lives of the Poets*, in his life of Sackville, Lord Dorset: "Sackville, who was then Lord Buckhurst, with Sir Charles Sedley and Sir Thomas Ogle, got drunk at the Cock, in Bow Street, by Covent Garden, and going into the balcony exposed themselves to the populace in very indecent postures. At last, as they grew warmer, Sedley stood forth naked, and harangued the populace in such profane language, that the publick indignation was awakened; the crowd attempted to force the door, and being repulsed, drove in the performers with stones, and broke the windows of the house. For this misdemeanour they were indicted, and Sedley was fined five hundred pounds; what was the sentence of the others is not known. Sedley employed Killigrew and another to procure a remission of the King, but (mark the friendship of the dissolute!) they begged the fine for themselves, and exacted it to the last groat. (M. B.)

him sirrah many times. It's said they have bound him to his good behaviour (there being no law against him for it) in 5,000*l*. It being told that my Lord Buckhurst was there, my Lord asked whether it was that Buckhurst that was lately tried for robbery;¹ and when answered Yes, he asked whether he had so soon forgot his deliverance at that time, and that it would have more become him to have been at his prayers begging God's forgiveness, than now running into such courses again. This day I hear at dinner that Don John of Austria, since his flight out of Portugall, is dead of his wounds: so there is a great man gone, and a great dispute like to be ended for the crown of Spayne, if the King should have died before him. I received this morning a letter from my wife, wherein I find a sad falling out between my wife and my father and sister and Ashwell upon my writing to my father to advise Pall not to keep Ashwell from her mistresse, or making any difference between them. Which Pall telling to Ashwell, and she speaking some words that her mistresse heard caused great difference among them; all which I am sorry from my heart to hear of, and I fear will breed ill blood not to be laid again. So that I fear my wife and I may have some falling out about it, or at least my father and I, but I shall endeavour to salve up all as well as I can, or send for her out of the country before the time intended, which I would be loth to do. My cozen Roger told us the whole passage of my Lord Digby to-day, much as I have said here above; only that he did say that he would draw his sword against the Pope himself, if he should offer any thing against his Majesty, and the good of these nations; and that he never was the man that did either look for a Cardi-

¹ See an account of this, February 22d, 1661-62.

nal's cap for himself, or any body else, meaning Abbot Montagu;¹ and the House upon the whole did vote Sir Richard Temple innocent; and that my Lord Digby hath cleared the honour of his Majesty, and Sir Richard Temple's, and given perfect satisfaction of his own respects to the House.

2d. Walking in the garden this evening with Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes, Sir G. Carteret told us with great contempt how like a stage-player my Lord Digby spoke yesterday, pointing to his head as my Lord did, and saying, "First, for his head," says Sir G. Carteret, "I know what a calfe's head would have done better by half: for his heart and his sword, I have nothing to say to them." He told us that for certain his head cost the late King his, for it was he that broke off the treaty at Uxbridge. He told us also how great a man he was raised from a private gentleman in France by Monsieur Grandmont,² and afterwards by the Cardinal,³ who raised him to be a Lieutenant-generall, and then higher; and entrusted by the Cardinal, when he was banished out of France, with great matters, and recommended by him to the Queene as a man to be trusted and ruled by: yet when he came to have some power over the Queene, he begun to dissuade her from her opinion of the Cardinal; which she said nothing to till the Cardinal was returned, and then she told him of it; who told my Lord Digby, "Eh bien, Monsieur, vous estes un fort bon amy donc:" but presently put him out of all; and then, from a certainty of coming in two or three years' time to be Mareschall of France

¹ Walter, second son to the first Earl of Manchester, embracing the Catholic religion while on his travels, was made Abbot of Pontoise through the influence of Mary de' Medici: he afterwards became Almoner to the Queen Dowager of England, and died 1670.

² Antoine de Grammont, marshal of France, known as a warrior and as a writer. (M. B.)

³ Cardinal Mazarin.



(to which all strangers, even Protestants, and those as often as French themselves, are capable of coming, though it be one of the greatest places in France), he was driven to go out of France into Flanders; but there was not trusted, nor received any kindness from the Prince of Condé, as one to whom also he had been false, as he had been to the Cardinal and Grandmont. In fine, he told us how he is a man of excellent parts, but of no great faith nor judgment, and one very easy to get up to great height of preferment, but never able to hold it.

3d. To Westminster, and there Mr. Moore tells me great newes that my Lady Castlemaine is fallen from Court, and this morning retired. He gives me no account of the reason of it, but that it is so: for which I am sorry; and yet if the King do it to leave off not only her but all other mistresses, I should be heartily glad of it, that he may fall to look after business. I hear my Lord Digby is condemned at Court for his speech, and that my Lord Chancellor grows great again. With Mr. Creed over the water to Lambeth; but could not, it being morning, get to see the Archbishop's hearse: so over the fields to Southwarke, and there parted, and I spent half an hour in St. Mary Overy's Church, where are fine monuments of great antiquity, I believe, and has been a fine church. Thence to the Change, and meeting Sir J. Minnes there, he and I walked to look upon Backwell's design of making another alley from his shop through over against the Exchange door which will be very noble and quite put down the other two. So home to dinner and then to the office, and entered in my manuscript book the Victualler's contract, and then over the water and walked to see Sir W. Pen, and sat with him a while, and so home late, and to my viall.

4th. To St. James's by water with Sir J. Minnes

and Sir W. Batten. We staid while the Duke made himself ready. Among other things Sir Allen Apsley¹ showed the Duke the Lisbon Gazette in Spanish, where the late victory is set down particularly, and to the great honour of the English beyond measure. They have since taken back Evora, which was lost to the Spaniards, the English making the assault, and lost not more than three men. Here I learnt that the English foot are highly esteemed all over the world, but the horse not so much, which yet we count among ourselves the best; but they abroad have had no great knowledge of our horse, it seems. The Duke being ready, we retired with him, and there fell upon Mr. Creed's business, where the Treasurer did, like a mad coxcomb, without reason or method run over a great many things against the account, and so did Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten, which the Duke himself and Mr. Coventry and my Lord Barkely and myself did remove, and Creed being called in did answer all with great method and excellently to the purpose, till the Duke himself did declare that he was satisfied, and my Lord Barkely offered to lay 100*l.* that the King would receive no wrong in the account, and the two last knights held their tongues, or at least by not understanding it did say what made for Mr. Creed, and so Sir G. Carteret was left alone, but yet persisted to say that the account was not good, but full of corruption and foul dealing. And so we broke up to his shame, but I do fear to the loss of his friendship to me a good while, which I am heartily troubled for. Thence with Creed to the King's Head ordinary; but, coming late, dined at the second table very well for

¹ Sir Allen Apsley, a faithful adherent to Charles I., after the Restoration was made Falconer to the King, and Almoner to the Duke of York, in whose regiment he bore a commission. He was in 1661 M.P. for Thetford, and died 1683.

12*d.* ; and a pretty gentleman in our company, who confirms my Lady Castlemaine's being gone from Court, but knows not the reason; he told us of one wive the Queene a little while ago did give her, when she came in and found the Queene under the dresser's hands, and had been so long: "I wonder your Majesty," says she, "can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?"—"I have so much reason to use patience," says the Queene, "that I can very well bear with it." He thinks that it may be the Queene hath commanded her to retire, though that is not likely. Thence with Creed to hire a coach to carry us to Hide Parke, to-day there being a general muster of the King's Guards, horse and foot: but they demand so high, that I, spying Mr. Cutler the merchant, did take notice of him, and he going into his coach, and telling me that he was going to shew a couple of Swedish strangers the muster, I asked and went along with him; where a goodly sight to see so many fine horses and officers, and the King, Duke, and others come by a-horseback, and the two Queenes in the Queene-Mother's coach, my Lady Castlemaine not being there. And after long being there, I light, and walked to the place where the King, Duke, &c., did stand to see the horse and foot march by and discharge their guns, to show a French Marquisse (for whom this muster was caused) the goodness of our firemen; which indeed was very good, though not without a slip now and then: and one broadside close to our coach we had going out of the Parke, even to the nearnesse as to be ready to burn our hairs. Yet methought all these gay men are not the soldiers that must do the King's business, it being such as these that lost the old King all he had, and were beat by the most ordinary fellows that could be. Thence with much ado out of the Parke, and I lighted and through St. James's down the

waterside over to Lambeth, to see the Archbishop's corps (who is to be carried away to Oxford on Monday), but came too late, and so walked over the fields and bridge home. This day in the Duke's chamber there being a Roman story in the hangings, and upon the standards written these four letters—S. P. Q. R., Sir G. Carteret came to me to know what the meaning of those four letters were; which ignorance is not to be borne in a Privy Counsellor, methinks, what a schoolboy should be whipt for not knowing.

5th (Lord's day). Lady Batten had sent twice to invite me to go with them to Walthamstow to-day, Mrs. Martha being married already this morning to Mr. Castle, at this parish church. I could not rise soon enough to go with them, but got myself ready, and so to Games's, where I got a horse and rode thither very pleasantly. Being come thither, I was well received, and had two pair of gloves, as the rest, and walked up and down with my Lady in the garden, she mighty kind to me, and I have the way to please her. A good dinner and merry, but methinks none of the kindness nor bridall respect between the bridegroom and bride, that was between my wife and I, but as persons that marry purely for convenience. After dinner to church by coach, and there my Lady, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Lemon, and I only, we, in spite to one another, kept one another awake; and sometimes I read in my book of Latin plays, which I took in my pocket, thinking to have walked it. An old doting parson preached. So home. Sir J. Minnes and I in his coach together, talking all the way of chymistry, wherein he do know something, at least, seems so to me, that cannot correct him, Mr. Batten's man riding my horse, and so home and to my office a while to read my vows, then home to prayers and to bed.

6th. At my office all the morning, writing out a

list of the King's ships in my Navy collections with great pleasure. At noon Creed comes to me, who tells me how well he has sped with Sir G. Carteret after all our trouble, that he had his tallies up and all the kind words possible from him, which I believe is out of an apprehension what a foole he has made of himself hitherto in making so great a stop therein.

7th. At noon down by barge with Sir J. Minnes to Woolwich, in our way eating of some venison pasty in the barge, I having neither eat nor drank to-day. Here also in Mr. Pett's garden I eat some and the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning. Thence walked alone, only part of the way Deane walked with me, complaining of many abuses in the Yarde, to Greenwich, and so by water to Deptford, where I found Mr. Coventry, and with him up and down all the stores, to the great trouble of the officers, and by his helpe I am resolved to fall hard to work again, as I used to do. So thence he and I by water, and I see he puts his trust most upon me in the Navy, and talks, as there is reason, slightly of the two old knights, and I should be glad by any drudgery to see the King's stores and service looked to as they ought, but I fear I shall never understand half the miscarriages and tricks that the King suffers by. He tells me what Mr. Pett did to-day, that my Lord Bristoll told the King that he will impeach the Chancellor of High Treason: but I find that my Lord Bristoll hath undone himself already in every body's opinion, and now he endeavours to raise dust to put out other men's eyes, as well as his owne; but I hope it will not take, in consideration merely that it is hard for a Prince to spare an experienced old officer, be he never so corrupt; though I hope this man is not so, as some report him to be. He tells me that Don John is yet

alive, and not killed, as was said, in the great victory against the Spaniards in Portugall of late. This afternoon, coming from the waterside with Mr. Coventry, I spied my boy upon Tower Hill playing with the rest of the boys; so I sent W. Griffin to take him, and he did bring him to me, and so I said nothing to him, but caused him to be stripped (for he was run away with his best suit), and so putting on his other, I sent him going, without saying one word hard to him, though I am troubled for the rogue, though he do not deserve it.

8th. Being weary, and going to bed late last night, I slept till 7 o'clock, it raining mighty hard, and so did every minute of the day after sadly. But I know not what will become of the corn this year, we having had but two fair days these many months. To my office, where all the morning busy, and then at noon home to dinner alone upon a good dish of eeles, given me by Michell, the Bewper's man, and then to my viall a little. In the evening I received letters out of the country, among others from my wife, who methinks writes so coldly that I am much troubled at it, and I fear shall have much ado to bring her to her old good temper. So home to supper and musique, which is all the pleasure I have of late given myself, or is fit I should, others spending too much time and money. Going in I stepped to Sir W. Batten, and there staid and talked with him (my Lady being in the country), and sent for some lobsters, and Mrs. Turner came in, and did bring us an umble pie hot out of her oven, extraordinary good, and afterwards some spirits of her making, in which she has great judgment, very good, and so home, merry with this night's refreshment.

9th. To my lawyer's; up and down to the Six Clerks' Office, where I found my bill against Tom Trice dismissed, which troubles me, it being through

my neglect, and will put me to charges. So to Mr. Phillips, and discoursed with him about finding me out somebody that will let me have for money an annuity of about 100*l.* per annum for two lives. So home, and there put up my riding things against the evening, in case Mr. Moore should continue his mind to go to Oxford, which I have little mind to do, the weather continuing so bad and the waters high. Mr. Moore in the afternoon comes to me and concluded not to go. By water to Deptford, and there mustered the Yarde, and went in to Sir W. Pen, who continues ill, and worse, I think, than before. He tells me my Lady Castlemaine was at Court, for all this talke this weeke; but it seems the King is stranger than ordinary to her.

10th. By water to Westminster Hall, where I met Pierce the chirurgeon, who tells me that for certain the King is grown colder to my Lady Castlemaine than ordinary, and that he believes he begins to love the Queene, and do make much of her, more than he used to do. Mr. Coventry tells me that my Lord Bristoll hath this day impeached my Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords of High Treason. The chief of the articles are these: 1st. That he should be the occasion of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms, and that he was bribed to it. 2d. That Dunkirke was also sold by his advice chiefly, so much to the damage of England. 3d. That he had 6,000*l.* given him for the drawing-up or promoting of the Irish declaration lately, concerning the division of the lands there. 4th. He did carry on the design of the Portugall match, so much to the prejudice of the Crown of England, notwithstanding that he knew the Queene is not capable of bearing children. 5th. That the Duke's marrying of his daughter was a practice of his, thereby to raise his family; and that it was done by indirect courses.

6th. As to the breaking-off of the match with Parma, in which he was employed at the very time when the match with Portugall was made up here, which he took as a great slur to him, and so it was ; and that, indeed, is the chief occasion of all this fewde. 7th. That he hath endeavoured to bring in Popery, and wrote to the Pope for a cap for a subject of the King of England's (my Lord Aubigny¹); and some say that he lays it to the Chancellor, that a good Protestant Secretary (Sir Edward Nicholas) was laid aside, and a Papist, Sir H. Bennet, put in his room : which is very strange, when the last of these two is his owne creature, and such an enemy accounted to the Chancellor, that they never did nor do agree ; and all the world did judge the Chancellor to be falling from the time that Sir H. Bennet was brought in. Besides my Lord Bristoll being a Catholique himself, all this is very strange. These are the main of the Articles. Upon which my Lord Chancellor desired that the noble Lord that brought in these Articles, would sign to them with his hand ; which my Lord Bristoll did presently. Then the House did order that the Judges should, against Monday next, bring in their opinion, Whether these articles are treason, or no ? and next, they would know, Whether they were brought in regularly or no, without leave of the Lords' House ? After dinner I took boat and down to Gravesend in good time, and thence with a guide post to Chatham, where I found Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Wayth, whom I told all this day's newes, which I left the towne full of, and it is great newes, and will certainly be in the consequence of it.

11th. Up early and to the Docke, and with the Storekeeper and other officers all the morning from

¹ Brother to the Duke of Lennox, and Almoner to the King.

one office to another. At noon to the Hill-house, and after seeing the guard-ships, to dinner, and after dinner to the Docke by coach, it raining hard, to see "The Prince" launched, which hath lain in the Docke in repairing these three years. I went into her and was launched in her. Thence by boat ashore to Mr. Barrow's, where Sir J. Minnes and Commissioner Pett; we staid long eating sweetmeats and drinking, and looking over some antiquities of Mr. Barrow's, among others an old manuscript Almanac, that I believe was made for some monastery, in parchment, which I could spend much time upon to understand. Here was a pretty young lady, a niece of Barrow's, which I took much pleasure to look on. Thence by barge to St. Mary's Creeke; where Commissioner Pett (doubtful of the growing greatnesse of Portsmouth by the finding of those creekes there), do design a wett docke at no great charge, and yet no little one; he thinks towards 10,000^l. And the place, indeed, is likely to be a very fit place, when the King hath money to do it with. To the Hill-house, and anon to supper, and late to bed and slept well. About one or two in the morning the curtains of my bed being drawn waked me, and I saw a man stand there by the inside of my bed calling me French dogg 20 times, one after another, and I starting, as if I would get out of the bed, he fell a-laughing as hard as he could drive, still calling me French dogg, and laid his hand on my shoulder. At last, whether I said anything or no I cannot tell, but I perceived the man, after he had looked wistly upon me, and found that I did not answer him to the name that he called me by, which was Salmon, Sir G. Carteret's clerke, and Robt. Maddox, another of the clerks, he put off his hat on a suddaine, and forebore laughing, and asked who I was, saying, "Are you Mr. Pepys?" I told him yes, and now being

come a little better to myself, I found him to be Tom Willson, Sir W. Batten's clerke, and fearing he might be in some melancholy fit, I was at a loss what to do or say. At last I asked him what he meant. He desired my pardon for that he was mistaken, for he thought verily, not knowing of my coming to lie there, that it had been Salmon, the Frenchman, with whom he intended to have made some sport. So I made nothing of it, but bade him good night, and I, after a little pause, to sleep again, being well pleased that it ended no worse, and being a little the better pleased with it, because it was the Surveyor's clerke, which will make sport when I come to tell Sir W. Batten of it, it being a report that old Edgeborough, the former Surveyor, who died here, do now and then walk.

12th (Lord's day). With Sir J. Minnes to church, where an indifferent good sermon. Here I saw Mrs. Becky Allen, who hath been married, and is this day churched, after her bearing a child. Coming out of the church I kissed her and her sister and mother-in-law. So to dinner and to church again, and after that walked through the Rope-ground to the Docke, and there over and over the Docke and grounds about it, and storehouses, &c., with the officers of the Yarde, and then to Commissioner Pett's and had a good sullybub and other good things, and merry. Thence I walked to the Hill-house, being myself much dissatisfied, and more than I thought I should have been with Commissioner Pett, being, by what I saw since I came hither, convinced that he is not able to exercise the command in the Yarde over the officers that he ought to do, or somebody else, if ever the service be well looked after there. For I do see he is but a man of words, though indeed he is the ablest man that we have to do service if he would or durst. Sir J. Minnes being

gone to bed, I took Mr. Whitfield, one of the clerks, and walked to the Docke about eleven at night, and there got a boat and a crew, and rowed down to the guard-ships, it being a most pleasant moonshine evening that ever I saw almost. The guard-ships were very ready to hail us, being no doubt commanded thereto by their Captain, who remembers how I surprised them the last time I was here. However, I found him ashore, but the ship in pretty good order, and the arms well fixed, charged, and primed. Thence to the Sovereigne, where I found no officers aboard, no arms fixed, nor any powder to prime their few guns, which were charged, without bullet though. So to the London, where neither officers nor anybody awake; I boarded her, and might have done what I would, and at last could find but three little boys; and so spent the whole night in visiting all the ships, in which I found, for the most part, neither an officer aboard, nor any men so much as awake, which I was grieved to find, specially so soon after a great alarum, as Commissioner Pett brought us word that he had provided against, and put all in a posture of defence but a weeke ago, all which I am resolved to represent to the Duke.

13th. So, it being high day, I put in to shore and to bed for two hours just, and so up again, and with the Storekeeper and Clerke of the Rope-yarde up and down the Docke and Rope-house, and by and by mustered the Yarde, and instructed the Clerks of the Cheque in my new way of Call-book, and that and other things done, to the Hill-house, and there we eat something, and so by barge to Rochester, and there took coach hired for our passage to London, and it being a most pleasant and warm day, we got by four o'clock home, and after dressing myself, I walked to the Temple; and there, from my cozen Roger, hear that the Judges have this day brought

in their answer to the Lords, That the articles against my Lord Chancellor are not Treason ; and to-morrow they are to bring in their arguments to the House for the same. This day also the King did send by my Lord Chamberlain to the Lords, to tell them from him, that the most of the articles against my Lord Chancellor he himself knows to be false. I met the Queene-Mother walking in the Pell Mell, led by my Lord St. Alban's. And finding many coaches at the Gate, I found upon enquiry that the Duchesse is brought to bed of a boy ; and hearing that the King and Queene are rode abroad with the Ladies of Honour to the Parke, and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return, I also staid walking up and down. By and by the King and Queene, who looked in this dresse (a white laced waistcoate and a crimson short pettycoate, and her hair dressed *à la negligence*) mighty pretty ; and the King rode hand in hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies ; but the King took, methought, no notice of her ; nor when they light did any body press (as she seemed to expect, and staid for it) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat (which all took notice of), and yet is very handsome, but very melancholy : nor did any body speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to any body. I followed them up into White Hall, and into the Queene's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and

excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life ; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress : nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine. Here late, with much ado I left to look upon them, and went away, and by water, and so home and to Sir W. Batten, where I staid telling him and Sir J. Minnes and Mrs. Turner, with great mirth, my being frightened at Chatham by young Edgeborough, and so home to supper and to bed.

14th. This day I hear the Judges, according to order yesterday, did bring into the Lords' House their reasons of their judgments in the business between my Lord Bristoll and the Chancellor ; and the Lords do concur with the Judges that the articles are not treason, nor regularly brought into the House, and so voted that a Committee should be chosen to examine them ; but nothing to be done therein till the next sitting of this Parliament (which is like to be adjourned in a day or two), and in the mean time the two Lords to remain without prejudice done to either of them.

15th. Captain Grove came and dined with me. He told me of discourse very much to my honour, both as to my care and ability, happening at the Duke of Albemarle's table the other day, both from the Duke and the Duchesses themselves ; and how I paid so much a year to him whose place it was of right, and that Mr. Coventry did report thus of me ; which was greatly to my content, knowing how against their minds I was brought into the Navy.

16th. Up and dispatched things into the country and to my father's, and two kegs of Sturgeon and a dozen bottles of wine to Cambridge for my cozen Roger Pepys, which I give him. By and by by water on several deale ships, and stood upon a stage

in one place seeing calkers sheathing of a ship. Then at Wapping to my carver's about my Viall head. Thence to the Exchange, and so home to dinner, and then to my office, where a full board, and busy all the afternoon, and among other things made a great contract with Sir W. Warren for 40,000 deales Swinsound. In the morning before I went on the water I was at Thames Streete about some pitch, and there meeting Anthony Joyce, I took him and Mr. Stacy, the Tarr merchant, to the tavern, where Stacy told me many old stories of my Lady Batten's former poor condition, and how her former husband broke, and how she came to her state.

19th. To church, where a sober Doctor made a good sermon. So home to dinner alone, and so to church again, where the Scot made an ordinary sermon, and so to my office, and there read over my vows and increased them by a vowe against all strong drink till November next of any sort or quantity, by which I shall try how I can forbear it. God send it may not prejudice my health, and then I care not. Then I fell to read over a silly play writ by a person of honour (which is, I find, as much as to say a coxcomb), called "Love à la Mode," and that being ended, home, and played on my lute and sung psalms till bedtime, then to prayers and to bed.

20th. Walked to Woolwich, reading Bacon's "Faber fortunæ," which the oftener I read the more I admire. There found Captain Cocke, and to his house, and there dined very finely. With much ado obtained an excuse from drinking of wine, and did only taste a drop of Sacke which he had for his lady, who is, he fears, a little consumptive, and her beauty begins to want its colour. It was Malago Sacke, which, he says, is certainly 30 years old, and I tasted a drop of it, and it was excellent wine, like a spirit rather than wine. Home, and being heartily weary

I made haste to bed, and being in bed made Will read and construe three or four Latin verses in the Bible, and chide him for forgetting his grammar.

21st. And so lay long in the morning, till I heard people knock at my door, and so I rose and ranted at Will and the mayde, and swore I could find my heart to kick them down stairs, at which the mayde mumbled at mightily. It was my brother who staid and talked with me, his chief business being about his going about to build his house new at the top, which will be a great charge for him, and above his judgment. By and by comes Mr. Deane, of Woolwich, with his draught of a ship, and the bend and main lines in the body of a ship very finely, and which do please me mightily, and so am resolved to study hard, and learne of him to understand a body, and I find him a very pretty fellow in it, and rational, but a little conceited, but that's no matter to me. At noon, by my Lady Batten's desire, I went over the water to Mr. Castle's, who brings his wife home to his owne house to-day, where I found a great many good old women, and my Lady, Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes. A good, handsome, plain dinner. Home, and wrote letters to my father and wife about my desire that they should observe the feast at Brampton, and have my Lady and the family, and so home to supper and bed. This day the Parliament kept a fast for the present unseasonable weather.

22nd. Up, and by and by comes my uncle Thomas, to whom I paid 10*l.* for his last half year's annuity, and did get his and his son's hand and seale for the confirming to us Piggott's mortgage, which was forgot to be expressed in our late agreement with him, though intended, and therefore they might have cavilled at it, if they would. Thence to my Lord Crew's. My Lord not being come home, I met and

staid below with Captn. Ferrers, who was come to wait upon my Lady Jemimah to St. James's, she being one of the four ladies that hold up the mantle at the christening this afternoon of the Duke's child (a boy). In discourse of the ladies at Court, Captn. Ferrers tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is now as great again as ever she was; and that her going away was only a fit of her owne upon some slighting words of the King, so that she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a-hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a-hunting at all. After which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will. No longer ago than last night, there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queene at the Duke of Buckingham's, and she was not invited: but being at my Lady Suffolk's,¹ her aunt's (where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined) yesterday, she was heard to say, "Well, much good may it do them, and for all that I will be as merry as they:" and so she went home and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queene at Wallingford House,² he came to my Lady Castlemaine's, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him. He tells me he believes that, as soon as the King can get a husband for Mrs. Stewart, however, my Lady Castlemaine's nose will be out of joynt; for that she comes

¹ Barbara, second wife of James Earl of Suffolk, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, and widow of Sir Richard Wentworth. She died Dec. 1681, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Felton, Bart.

² Wallingford House stood on the site of the present Admiralty: it originally belonged to the Knollys family, and during the Protectorate the office for granting passes to persons going abroad was kept there.

to be in great esteem, and is more handsome than she. I called at Wotton's, the shoemaker, who tells me the reason of Harris's¹ going from Sir Wm. Davenant's house, that he grew very proud and demanded 20*l.* for himself extraordinary, more than Betterton or any body else, upon every new play, and 10*l.* upon every revive; which with other things Sir W. Davenant would not give him, and so he swore he would never act there more, in expectation of being received in the other House; but the King will not suffer it, upon Sir W. Davenant's desire that he would not, for then he might shut up house, and that is true. He tells me that his going is at present a great losse to the House, and that he fears he hath a stipend from the other House privately. He tells me that the fellow grew very proud of late, the King and every body else crying him up so high, and that above Betterton he being a more ayery man, as he is indeed. But yet Betterton, he says, they all say do act some parts that none but himself can do. Thence to my bookseller's, and find my Waggoners done. The very binding cost me 14*s.*, but they are well done, and so with a porter home with them, and so by water to Ratcliffe, and there went to speak with Cumberford the platt-maker, and there saw his manner of working, which is very fine and laborious. So down to Deptford, reading Ben Jonson's "Devil is an asse," and so to see Sir W. Pen, who I find walking out of doors a little, but could not stand long, but in doors and I with him, and staid a great while talking, I taking a liberty to tell him my thoughts in things of the office, that when he comes abroad again, he may know what to think of me, and to value me as he ought. Walked home. This day

¹ Joseph Harris, a celebrated actor, who first appeared at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1662. He probably died or left the stage about 1676.

I hear that the Moores have made some attaques upon the outworks of Tangier; but my Lord Teviott, with the loss of about 200 men, did beat them off, and killed many of them. To-morrow the King and Queene for certain go down to Tunbridge. But the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

23rd. Up and to my office, and thence by information from Mr. Ackworth I went down to Woolwich, and mustered the three East India ships that lie there, believing that there is great juggling between the Pursers and Clerks of the Cheque in cheating the King of the wages and victuals of men that do not give attendance, and I found very few on board. So to the yarde, and there mustered the yarde, and found many faults, and discharged several fellows that were absent from their business. After dinner with all haste home, and at the office, and by Sir W. Batten's testimony and Sir G. Carteret's concurrence, was forced to consent to a business of Captain Cocke's timber, as bad as anything we have lately disputed about, and all through Sir W. Coventry's not being with us. So up and to supper with Sir W. Batten upon a soused mullett, very good meat, and so home and to bed.

24th. By water to the Temple, and there took leave of my cozen Roger Pepys, who goes out of towne to-day. So to Westminster Hall, and there at Mrs. Michell's shop sent for beer and sugar and drink, and made great cheer with it among her and Mrs. Howlett, her neighbour, and their daughters, especially Mrs. Howlett's daughter, Betty, which is a pretty girle, and one I have long called wife, being, I formerly thought, like my owne wife. After this good neighbourhood, I went to the six clerks' office, and there had a writ for Tom Trice, and paid 20s. for it to Wilkinson, and so home, and being sent for

presently to Mr. Bland's, where Mr. Povy and Gauden and I were invited to dinner, which we had very finely and great plenty, but for drink, though many and good, I drank nothing but small beer and water. They had a kinswoman, they call daughter, in the house, a short, ugly, red-haired slut, that plays upon the virginalls, and sings, but after such a country manner I was weary of it, but yet could not but commend it. So by and by after dinner comes Monsr. Gotier, who is beginning to teach her, but, Lord! what a droll fellow it is to make her hold open her mouth, and telling this and that so drolly would make a man burst, but himself I perceive sings very well. Anon we sat down again to a collacon of cheesecakes, tartes, custards, and such like, very handsome, and so up and away home, where I at the office a while, till disturbed by Mr. Hill, of Cambridge, with whom I walked in the garden and then in my dining room, talking of several matters of state till 11 at night. I was not unwilling to hear him talk, though he is full of words, yet a man of large conversation especially among the Presbyters and Independents; he tells me that certainly, let the Bishops alone, and they will ruin themselves, and he is confident that the King's declaration about two years since will be the foundation of the settlement of the Church some time or other, for the King will find it hard to banish all those that will appear Non-conformists upon this Act that is coming out against them. He being gone, I to bed.

25th. Having intended this day to go to Banstead Downes to see a famous race, I sent Will. to get himself ready to go with me; but I hear it is put off, because the Lords do sit in Parliament to-day. However, having appointed Mr. Creed to come to me to Fox Hall, I went over thither, and after some debate, Creed and I resolved to go to Clapham, to Mr.

Gaudens.¹ When I came there, the first thing was to show me his house, which is almost built. I find it very regular and finely contrived, and the gardens and offices about it as convenient and as full of good variety as ever I saw in my life. It is true he hath been censured for laying out so much money; but he tells me that he built it for his brother, who is since dead (the Bishop²), who when he should come to be Bishop of Winchester, which he was promised (to which bishopricke at present there is no house), he did intend to dwell here. By and by to dinner, and in comes Mr. Creed; I saluted his lady, and the young ladies, and his sister, the Bishop's widow; who was, it seems, Sir W. Russel's daughter, the Treasurer of the Navy; who I find to be very well-bred, and a woman of excellent discourse. Towards the evening we bade them Adieu! and took horse; being resolved that, instead of the race which fails us, we would go to Epsum. When we came there we could hear of no lodging, the town so full; but which was better, I went towards Ashted, my old place of pleasure, and there we got a lodging in a little hole we could not stand upright in. While supper was getting ready, I walked up and down behind my cozen Pepys's house that was, which I find comes little short of what I took it to be when I was a little boy, as things use commonly to appear greater than when one comes to be a man and knows more, and so up and down in the closes, which I know so well methinks, and account it good fortune that I lie here that I may have opportunity to renew my old walks. So to our lodging to supper, and among other meats had a brave dish of creame, the best I ever eat in my life, and with which we pleased ourselves much, and

¹ Dennis Gauden, Victualler to the Navy; subsequently knighted when Sheriff of London.

² Of Exeter.

by and by to bed, where, with much ado yet good sport, we made shift to lie, but with little ease, and a little spaniel by us, which has followed us all the way, a pretty dogg, and we believe that it follows my horse, and do belong to Mrs. Gauden, which we, therefore, are very careful of.

26th (Lord's-day). Up and to the Wells, where great store of citizens, which was the greatest part of the company, though there were some others of better quality. Thence I walked to Mr. Minnes's house, and thence to Durdan's and walked within the Court Yard and to the Bowling-green, where I have seen so much mirth in my time; but now no family in it (my Lord Barkeley, whose it is, being with his family at London), and so up and down by Minnes wood with great pleasure viewing my old walks, and where Mrs. Hely and I did use to walk and talk, with whom I had the first sentiments of love and pleasure in woman's company, discourse, and taking her by the hand, she being a pretty woman. So I led him to Ashted Church, where we had a dull Doctor, and after sermon home, and staid while our dinner, a couple of large chickens, were dressed, and a good mess of creame, which anon we had with great content, and after dinner he and I to walk, and I led him to the pretty little wood behind my cozen's house, but when we were among the hazel trees and bushes, Lord! what a course we did run for an houre together, losing ourselves, and indeed I despaired I should ever come to any path, I could hardly have believed a man could have been lost so long in so small a room. At last I found out a delicate walk in the middle that goes quite through the wood, and then went out of the wood. Went to our lodging and paid our reckoning, and so mounted, whether to go toward London home or to find a new lodging, and so rode through Epsum, the whole

towne over, seeing the various companys that were there walking ; which was very pleasant to see how they are there without knowing almost what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters. But Lord ! to see how many I met there of citizens, that I could not have thought to have seen there ; that they had ever had it in their heads or purses to go down thither. We rode out of the towne through Jowell beyond Nonesuch House a mile, and there our little dogg, as he used to do, fell a running after a flock of sheep, till he was out of sight, and then endeavoured to come back again, the poor thing mistakes our scent, instead of coming forward he hunts us backward. We went back as far as Epsum almost, and hearing nothing of him, we went back to Jowell, and there set up our horses and selves for all night, employing people to look for the dogg in the towne. We gave order for supper, and while that was dressing walked out through Nonesuch Parke to the house, and there viewed as much as we could of the outside, and looked through the great gates, and found a noble court ; and altogether believe it to have been a very noble house, and a delicate parke about it, where just now there was a doe killed for the King to carry up to Court. So walked back again, and by and by our supper being ready, a good leg of mutton, we supped and to bed.

27th. Up in the morning about 7 o'clock, and after a little study, resolved of riding to the Wells to look for our dogg, which we did, but could hear nothing ; but it being a much warmer day than yesterday there was great store of gallant company, more than then, to my greater pleasure. There was at a distance, under one of the trees on the common, a company got together that sang. I, at the distance, took them for the Waytes, so I rode up to them, and found them only voices, some citizens met by chance, that

sung four or five parts excellently. I have not been more pleased with a snapp of musique, considering the circumstances of the time and place, in all my life anything so pleasant. We drank each of us three cupps, and so, after riding up to the horsemen upon the hill, where they were making of matches to run, we went away and to Jowell, where we found our breakfast, the remains of our supper last night hashed, and mounted, and with little discourse, I being intent upon getting home in time, we rode hard home, and set up our horses at Fox Hall, and I by water (observing the King's barge attending his going to the House this day) home, it being about one o'clock. So shifting myself, and so by water to Westminster, and there came most luckily to the Lords' House as the House of Commons were going into the Lord's House, and there I crowded in along with the Speaker, and got to stand close behind him, where he made his speech to the King (who sat with his crown on and robes, and so all the Lords in their robes, a fine sight); wherein he told his Majesty what they have done this Parliament, and now offered for his royall consent. The greatest matters were a bill for the Lord's day (which it seems the Lords have lost, and so cannot be passed, at which the Commons are displeased); the bills against Conventicles and Papists (but it seems the Lords have not passed them), and giving his Majesty four entire subsidys; which last, with about twenty smaller Acts, were passed with this form: The Clerk of the House reads the title of the bill, and then looks at the end and there finds (writ by the King I suppose) "*Le Roy le veult,*" and that he reads. And to others he reads, "*Soit fait comme vous desirez.*" And to the Subsidys, as well that for the Commons, I mean the layety, as for the Clergy, the King writes, "*Le Roy remerçant les Seigneurs, &c., Prelats, &c., accepte leur benevo-*

lences." The Speaker's speech was far from any oratory, but was as plain (though good matter) as any thing could be, and void of elocution. After the bills passed, the King, sitting on his throne, with his speech writ in a paper which he held in his lap, and scarce looked off of it, I thought, all the time he made his speech to them, giving them thanks for their subsidys, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked or received them; and that need, not from any extravagancys of his, he was sure, in any thing, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future, by their care in their country, he should be: and that for his family expenses and others, he would labour however to retrench in many things convenient, and would have all others to do so too. He desired that nothing of old faults should be remembered, or severity for the same used to any in the country, it being his desire to have all forgot as well as forgiven. But, however, to use all care in suppressing any tumults, &c.; assuring them that the restless spirits of his and their adversaries have great expectations of something to be done this summer. And promised that though the Acts about Conventicles and Papists were not ripe for passing this Sessions, yet he would take care himself that neither of them should in this intervall be encouraged to the endangering of the peace; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two bills for them concerning them. So he concluded, that for the better proceeding of justice he did think fit to make this a Sessions, and to prorogue them to the 16th of March next. His speech was very plain, nothing at all of spirit in it, nor spoke with any; but rather on the contrary imperfectly, repeating many times his words though he read all: which I was sorry to see, it having not been hard for him to have got all the

speech without booke. So they all went away, the King out of the House at the upper end, he being by and by to go to Tunbridge to the Queene; and I in the Painted Chamber spoke with my Lord Sandwich while he was putting off his robes, who tells me he will now hasten down into the country. Here meeting Creed, he and I over the water to Fox Hall, and then to the new Spring Garden, walking up and down, but things being dear and little attendance to be had we went away, leaving much brave company there, and so to a less house hard by, where we liked very well their Codlin tarts, having not time, as we intended, to stay the getting ready of a dish of pease. Thence by water to White Hall, and walked over the Parke to St. James's; but missed Mr. Coventry; and so out again, and there the Duke was coming along the Pell-Mell. It being a little darkish, I staid not to take notice of him, but we went directly back again. And in our walk over the Parke, one of the Duke's footmen came running behind us, and came looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off, though methinks that should not be it, besides, there were others covered nearer than myself was, but only it was my fear. So to White Hall and by water to the Bridge, and so home to bed, weary and well pleased with my journey in all respects. Only it cost me about 20s., but it was for my health, and I hope will prove so.

28th. To my office setting down the Journall of this last three days and so settled to business again, I hope with greater cheerfulness and successe by this refreshment. Late came my Jane and her brother Will to entreat for my taking of the boy again, but I will not hear her, though I would yet be glad to do anything for her sake to the boy, but

receive him again I will not, nor give him anything. She would have me send him to sea, which if I could I would do, but there is no ship going out.

29th. To Sir W. Batten and there I dined with my Lady and her daughter and son Castle, and mighty kind she is and I kind to her, but, Lord! how freely and plainly she rails against Commissioner Pett, calling him rogue, and wondering that the King keeps such a fellow in the Navy. Thence by and by walked to see Sir W. Pen at Deptford, reading by the way a most ridiculous play, a new one, called "The Politician Cheated."¹

30th. To Woolwich, and there came Sir G. Carteret and, then by water back to Deptford, where we dined with him at his house, a very good dinner and mightily tempted with wines of all sorts and brave French Syder, but I drunk none. But that which is a great wonder I find his little daughter Betty,² that was in hanging sleeves but a month or two ago, and is a very little young child, married, and to whom, but to young Scott,³ son to Madam Catharine Scott,⁴ that was so long in law, and at whose trial I was with her husband; he pleading that it was unlawfully got and would not owne it, but it seems a little before his death he did owne the child, and hath left him his estate, not long since. So Sir G. Carteret hath struck up of a sudden a match with him for his little daughter. He hath about 2,000*l.* per annum; and it seems Sir G. C. hath by this means over-reached Sir H. Bennet, who did endeavour to get this gentleman for a sister of his. By this means Sir G. Car-

¹ A Comedy by Alexander Green.

² Her name was Caroline. Elizabeth died unmarried.

³ Thomas, eldest son of Sir Thomas Scott, of Scott's Hall, in the parish of Smeeth, Kent.

⁴ Prince Rupert was supposed to have intrigued with Mrs. Scott, and was probably the father of the child.

teret hath married two daughters this year both very well.¹ After dinner parted, and so calling for my five books of the Variorum print bound according to my common binding instead of the other which is more gaudy I went home. The towne talke this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downes, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him; though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

31st. Up early to my accounts and I find myself with clear 730*l.*, the most I ever had yet, which contents me though I encrease but very little. Thence to my office doing business and so to the Exchange, where I met Dr. Pierce, who tells me of his good luck to get to be groom of the Privy-Chamber to the Queene, and without my Lord Sandwich's helpe, but only by his good fortune, meeting a man that hath let him have his right for a small matter, about 60*l.* for which he can every day have 400*l.* But he tells me my Lord hath lost much honour in standing so long and so much for that coxcomb Pickering, and at last not carrying it for him; but hath his name struck out by the King and Queene themselves after he had been in ever since the Queene's coming. But he tells me he believes that either Sir H. Bennet, my Lady Castlemaine, or Sir Charles Barkeley had received some money for the place, and so the King could not disappoint them, but was forced to put out this foole rather than a better man. And I am sorry to hear what he tells me that Sir Charles Barkeley hath still such power over the King, as to be able to fetch him from the Council-table to my Lady Castlemaine

¹ The other daughter was Anne, wife of Sir Nicholas Slaning, K. B.

when he pleases. He tells me also, as a friend, the great injury that he thinks I do myself by being so severe in the Yards, and contracting the ill-will of the whole Navy for those offices, singly upon myself. Now I discharge a good conscience therein, and I tell him that no man can (nor do he say any say it) charge me with doing wrong; but rather do as many good offices as any man. They think, he says, that I have a mind to get a good name with the King and Duke, who he tells me do not consider any such thing; but I shall have as good thanks to let all alone, and do as the rest. But I believe the contrary; and yet I told him I never go to the Duke alone, as others do, to talk of my owne services. However, I will make use of his council, and take some course to prevent having the single ill-will of the office. Mr. Grant showed me letters of Sir William Petty's, wherein he says, that his vessel which he hath built upon two keeles, (a modell whereof, built for the King, he showed me) hath this month won a wager of 50*l.* in sailing between Dublin and Holyhead with the pacquett-boat, the best ship or vessel the King hath there; and he offers to lay with any vessel in the world. It is about thirty ton in burden, and carries thirty men, with good accommodation, (as much more as any ship of her burden,) and so any vessel of this figure shall carry more men, with better accommodation by half, than any other ship. This carries also ten guns, of about five tons weight. In their coming back from Holyhead they started together, and this vessel came to Dublin by five at night, and the pacquett-boat not before eight the next morning; and when they came they did believe that this vessel had been drowned, or at least behind, not thinking she could have lived in that sea. Strange things are told of this vessel, and he conculdes his letter with this position, "I only

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SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

affirm that the perfection of sayling lies in my principle, finde it out who can."¹

Aug. 1st. Up betimes and got me ready, and then Mr. Coventry sending for me, he and I by water to Gravesend and there eat a bit and so mounted, I upon one of his horses which met him there, a brave proud horse, all the way talking of businesses of the office and other matters to good purpose. Being come to Chatham, we walked to the yarde looking and inquiring into many businesses, and in the evening went to the Commissioner's and there pressed upon the Commr. to take upon him a power to correct and suspend officers that do not their duty and other things, which he unwillingly answered he would if we would owne him in it. At the Hill house to bed.

2nd (Lord's day). Up and after the barber had done he and I walked to the Docke, and so on board the Mathias, where an excellent sermon of Mr. Hudson's upon "All is yours and you are God's," a most ready, learned, and good sermon, such as I have not heard a good while. After dinner to the parish church, and there heard a poor sermon with a great deal of false Greek in it, upon these words, "Ye are my friends, if ye do these things which I command you." Thence to the Docke and by water to view St. Mary Creeke, but do not find it so proper for a wett Docke as we would have it, it being un-

¹ Sir W. Petty was born in 1623. At the Restoration he was knighted and created Surveyor-General of Ireland. About 1663 he invented his double-bottomed ship, which could sail against wind and tide, of which he gave a model to the Royal Society. He died very rich, 1687. The widow of Sir W. Petty was created Baroness Shelburne. He left two sons and a daughter. The eldest son succeeded to the title, but dying without issue, it was revived in Henry, the second son, great-uncle of the first Marquis of Lansdowne. (M. B.)

even ground and hard in the bottom and no great depth of water in places.

3rd. Up both of us very betimes and to the Yarde and see the men called over and choose some to be discharged. Then to the Ropehouses and viewed them all and made an experiment which was the stronger, English or Riga hempe, the latter proved the stronger, but the other is very good, and much better we believe than any but Riga. At noon Mr. Pett did give us a very great dinner, too big in all conscience. After dinner we conjured him to look after the yarde and for the time to come that he would take the whole faults and ill management of the yard upon himself, he having full power and our concurrence to suspend or do anything else that he thinks fit to keep people and officers to their duty. So walked to the Hill house and mounted and rode to Gravesend, and to bed.

4th. We were called up about four o'clock and took a Gravesend boat, and to London by nine o'clock. So to the office, where Sir W. Pen met us. My brother John I finde came to towne to my house, as I sent for him, on Saturday last, so at noon home and dined with him, and then by water to Black-bury's, and there talked with him about some masts, and by the way he tells me that Paul's is now going to be repaired in good earnest, and so with him to his garden, where I eat some peaches and apricots; a very pretty place. So home, and with my brother eat a bit of bread and cheese, and so to bed, he with me. This day I received a letter from my wife, which troubles me mightily, wherein she tells me how Ashwell did give her the lie to her teeth, and that thereupon my wife giving her a box on the eare, the other struck her again, and a deal of stir which troubles me, and that my Lady has been told by my father or mother something of my wife's

carriage, which altogether vexes me, and I fear I shall find a trouble of my wife when she comes home to get down her head again, but if Ashwell goes I am resolved to have no more, but to live poorly and low again for a good while, and save money and keep my wife within bounds if I can, or else I shall bid adieu to all content in the world. So to bed, my mind somewhat disturbed at this, but yet I shall take care, by prudence, to avoyde the ill consequences which I fear, things not being gone too far yet, and this height that my wife is come to being occasioned by my owne folly in giving her too much head heretofore for the year past.

5th. All the morning at the office, whither Deane of Woolwich came to me and discoursed of the body of ships, which I am now going about to understand, and then I took him to the coffee-house, where he was very earnest against Mr. Grant's report in favour of Sir W. Petty's vessel, even to some passion on both sides almost. So to the Exchange, and thence home to dinner with my brother, and he and I fell upon Des Cartes, and I perceive he has studied him well, and I cannot find but he has minded his book, and do love it. This evening came a letter about business from Mr. Coventry, and with it a silver pen he promised me to carry ink in which is very necessary.

6th. At noon I to the 'Change, and meeting with Sir W. Warren, to a coffee-house, and there finished a contract with him for the office, and so parted, and I to my cozen Mary Joyce's at a gossiping, where much company and good cheer. There was the King's Falconer, that lives by Paul's, and his wife, an ugly pusse, but brought him money. He speaking of the strength of hawkes, which will strike a fowle to the ground with that force that shall make the fowle rebound a great way from the ground,

which no force of man or art can do, but it was very pleasant to hear what reasons he and another, one Ballard, a rich man of the same Company of Leather-sellers of which the Joyces are, did give for this. Ballard's wife, a pretty and a well-bred woman, I took occasion to kiss several times, and she to carve, drink, and show me great respect. After dinner to talk and laugh. I drank no wine, but sent for some water, the beer not being good. A fiddler was sent for and there one Mrs. Lurkin, a neighbour, a good, poor woman, did dance and show such tricks that made us all merry, but above all a daughter of Mr. Brumfield's, black, but well-shaped and modest, did dance very well, which pleased me mightily. I begun the Duchesse with her, but could not do it; but, however, I came off well enough, and made mighty much of her, kissing and leading her home, with her cozen Anthony and Kate Joyce (Kate being very handsome and well, that is, handsomely-dressed to-day, and I grew mighty kind and familiar with her, and kissed her soundly, which she takes very well), and there I left them, having in our way, though nine o'clock at night, carried them into a puppet play, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where there was the story of Holofernes, and other clockwork, well done. There was at this house to-day Mr. Lawrence, who did give the name, it seems, to my cousin Joyce's child, Samuel, who is a very civil gentleman, and his wife a pretty woman, who, with Kate Joyce, were stewards of the feast to-day, and a double share cost for a man and woman come to 16s., which I also would pay, though they would not by any means have had me do so. I walked home very well contented with this afternoon's work, I thinking it convenient to keep in with the Joyces against a bad day, if I should have occasion to make use of them.

7th. To my office a little, and then to Brown's for my measuring rule, which is made, and is certainly the best and the most commodious for carrying in one's pocket, and myself have the honour of being as it were the inventor of this form of it. Then home, and thither came Sir Fairbrother to me. So by-and-by to dinner. The Dr.'s discourse, which (though he be a very good-natured man) is but simple, was some sport to me. We parted after dinner, and I walked to Deptford and there found Sir W. Pen, and I fell to measuring of some planks that was serving into the yarde, which the people took notice of, and the measurer himself was amused at, for I did it much more ready than he, and I believe Sir W. Pen would be glad I could have done less or he more. So home, and my brother John and I up and I to my musique, and then to discourse with him, and I find him not so thorough a philosopher, at least in Aristotle, as I took him for. So to prayers, and to bed.

8th. I with Mr. Coventry down to the water-side, talking, wherein I see so much goodness and endeavours of doing the King service, that I do more and more admire him. It being the greatest trouble to me, he says, in the world to see not only in the Navy, but in the greatest matters of State, where he can lay his finger upon the sore (meaning this man's faults, and this man's office the fault lies in), and yet dare or can not remedy matters. Thence to the Exchange about several businesses, and so home to dinner, and in the afternoon took my brother John and Will down to Woolwich by water, and after being there a good while, and eating of fruit in Sheldon's garden, we began our walke back again, I asking many things in physics of my brother John, to which he gives me so bad or no answer at all, as in the regions of the ayre he told me that he knew of

no such thing, for he never read Aristotle's philosophy and Des Cartes ownes no such thing, which vexed me to hear him say. But I shall call him to taske, and see what it is that he has studied since his going to the University.

9th. To church, and heard Mr. Mills (who is lately returned out of the country, and it seems was fetched in by many of the parishioners, with great state,) preach upon the authority of the ministers, upon these words, "We are therefore embassadors of Christ." Wherein, among other high expressions, he said, that such a learned man used to say, that if a minister of the word and an angell should meet him together, he would salute the minister first; which methought was a little too high. This day I begun to make use of the silver pen (Mr. Coventry did give me,) in writing of this sermon, taking only the heads of it in Latin, which I shall, I think, continue to do. So home and at my office reading my vowes, and so to Sir W. Batten to dinner, being invited. Thence in the afternoon with my Lady Batten, leading her through the streets by the hand to St. Dunstan's Church, hard by us, and heard an excellent sermon of one Mr. Gifford, the parson there, upon "Remember Lot's wife." Home, and staid up a good while examining Will in his Latin below, and my brother along with him in his Greeke, and so to prayers and to bed. This afternoon I was amused at the tune set to the Psalm by the Clerke of the parish, and thought at first that he was out, but I find him to be a good songster, and the parish could sing it very well, and was a very good tune. But I wonder there should be a tune in the Psalms that I never heard of.

10th. By water to White Hall, and so to St. James's, and anon called into the Duke's chamber, and discoursed of our matters, and that being done, he

walked, and I in the company with him, to White Hall, and there he took barge for Woolwich, and I up to the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Sandwich, my Lord Peterborough, (whom I have not seen before since his coming back,) Sir W. Compton, and Mr. Povy. Our discourse about supplying my Lord Teviott with money, wherein I am sorry to see, though they do not care for him, yet they are willing to let him for civility and compliment only have money almost without expecting any account of it; but by this means, he being such a cunning fellow as he is, the King is like to pay dear for our courtiers' ceremony. Thence by coach with my Lords Peterborough and Sandwich to my Lord Peterborough's house; and there, after an hour's looking over some fine books of the Italian buildings, with fine cuts, and also my Lord Peterborough's bowes and arrows, of which he is a great lover, we sat down to dinner, my Lady¹ coming down to dinner also, and there being Mr. Williamson,² that belongs to Sir H. Bennet, whom I find a pretty understanding and accomplished man, but a little conceited. After dinner I took leave and went to Greatorex's, and set him to work upon my ruler, to engrave an almanac and other things upon the brasses of it, which a little before night he did, but the latter part he slubbered over, that I must get him to do it over better, or else I shall not fancy my rule, which is such a folly that I am come to now, that whereas before my delight was in multitude of

¹ Penelope, daughter of Barnabas, Earl of Thomond, Countess of Peterborough.

² Joseph Williamson, Keeper of the Paper Office at White Hall, and in 1665 made Under Secretary of State, and soon afterwards knighted: and in 1674 he became Secretary of State, which situation he retained four years. He represented Thetford and Rochester in several Parliaments, and was in 1678 President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1701.

books, and spending money in that and buying alway of other things, now that I am become a better husband, and have left off buying, now my delight is in the neatnesse of everything, and so cannot be pleased with anything unless it be very neat, which is a strange folly. Hither came W. Howe about business, and find by him that my Lord do dote upon one of the daughters of Mrs. [Becke] where he lies, so that he spends his time and money upon her. Here I am told that my Lord Bristoll is either fled or concealed himself, having been sent for to the King, it is believed to be sent to the Tower, but he is gone out of the way. Yesterday, I am told, that Sir J. Lenthall,¹ in Southwarke, did apprehend about one hundred Quakers, and other such people, and hath sent some of them to the gaole at Kingston, it being now the time of the Assizes. Thence home and examined a piece of Will's with my brother, and so to prayers and to bed.

11th. We met and sat at the office all the morning, and at noon I to the 'Change, where I met Dr. Pierce, who tells me that the King comes to towne this day, from Tunbridge, to stay a day or two, and then fetch the Queene from thence, who he says is grown a very debonnaire lady, and now hugs him, and meets him galopping upon the road, and all the actions of a fond and pleasant lady that can be, that he believes he has a chat now and then of Mrs. Stewart, but that there is no great danger of her, she being only an innocent, young, raw girle; but my Lady Castlemaine, who rules the King in matters of state, and do what she list with him, he believes is now falling quite out of favour. After the Queene is come back she goes to the Bath, and so to Oxford, where great entertainments are making for

¹ Governor of Windsor Castle under Cromwell. Ob. 1681.

her. This day I am told that my Lord Bristoll hath warrants issued out against him, to have carried him to the Tower; but he is fled away, or hid himself. So much the Chancellor hath got the better of him. Upon the 'Change my brother brings me word that Madam Turner would come and dine with me to-day, so I hasted home and found her and Mrs. Morrice there. After dinner my two ladies and I in Mrs. Turner's coach to Mr. Povy's, and there shewed Mrs. Turner his perspective, and the fine things he is building of now, and so we went through bridge, and I carried them on board the King's pleasure-boat, all the way reading in a book of receipts of making fine meats and sweetmeats, which made us good sport. So I landed them at Greenwich, and there to a garden, and gave them fruit and wine, and so to boat again, and finally, in the cool of the evening, to Lyon Kee, the tide against us, and so landed and walked to the Bridge, and there took a coach by chance passing by, and so I saw them home, and there eat some cold venison with them, and drunk and bade them good night, having been mighty merry with them.

12th. A little to my office, to put down my yesterday's journall, and so abroad to buy a bedstead and do other things. To White Hall, where my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and others made a Tangier Committee; spent the afternoon in reading and ordering with a great deal of alteration, and yet methinks never a whit the better, of a letter drawn by Creed to my Lord Rutherford. The Lords being against anything that looked to be rough, though it was in matter of money and accounts, wherein their courtship may cost the King dear. Only I do see by them, that speaking in matters distasteful to him that we write to, it is best to do it in the plainest way and without ambages or reasoning, but only say

matters of fact, and leave the party to collect your meaning. Thence by water to my brother's, and there I hear my wife is come. I home, where methinks I find my wife strange, not knowing, I believe, in what temper she could expect me to be in, but I fell to kind words, and so we were very kind, only she could not forbear telling me how she had been used by them and her mayde, Ashwell, in the country, but I find it will be best not to examine it, for I doubt she's in fault too, and therefore I seek to put it off from my hearing.

13th. Met with Mr. Hoole¹ my old acquaintance of Magdalene, and walked with him an hour in the Parke, discoursing chiefly of Sir Samuel Morland, whose lady² is gone into France. It seems he buys ground and a farm in the country, and lays out money upon building, and God knows what! so that most of the money he sold his pension of 500*l.* per annum for, to Sir Arthur Slingsby,³ is believed is gone. It seems he hath very great promises from the King, and Hoole hath seen some of the King's letters, under his own hand, to Morland, promising him great things (and among others, the order of the Garter, as Sir Samuel says); but his lady thought it below her to ask any thing at the King's first coming, believing the King would do it of himself, when as Hoole do really think if he had asked to be Secretary of State at the King's first coming, he might have had it. And the other day at her going

¹ William, son of Robert Hoole of Walkeringham, admitted of Magdalene College, June, 1648.

² Susanne de Milleville, daughter of Daniel de Milleville, Baron of Boessen in France, naturalized 1662. When she died I cannot learn, but Sir Samuel Morland survived a second and a third wife, both buried in Westminster Abbey.

³ A younger son of Sir Guildford Slingsby, Comptroller of the Navy, knighted by Charles II., and afterwards created a Baronet at Brussels, 1657, which title has long been extinct.

into France, she did speak largely to the King herself, how her husband hath failed of what his Majesty had promised, and she was sure intended him; and the King did promise still, as he is a King and a gentleman, to be as good as his word in a little time, to a tittle: but I never believe it.

14th. To my brother's, where I found my father very discontented, and would have begun some of the differences between my wife and him, but I desired to hear none of them, and am resolved to make the best of a bad market, and to bring my wife to herself again as soon and as well as I can.

15th. By water down to Deptford, taking into my boat with me Mr. Palmer. He joyed me on my condition, and himself it seems is forced to follow the law in a common ordinary way. He landed with me at Deptford, where he saw by the officers' respect to me a piece of my command, and took notice of it, though God knows I hope I shall not be elated with that, but rather desire to be known for serving the King well, and doing my duty.

16th (Lord's day). With my wife to church. After dinner to church again, and there, looking up and down, I found Pembleton to stand in the aisle against us, he coming too late to get a pew. When, Lord! into what a sweat did it put me! But it makes me mad to see of what a jealous temper I am and cannot helpe it. Here preached a confident young coxcomb. So home, and I staid a while with Sir J. Minnes, at Mrs. Turner's, hearing his parrot talk, laugh, and crow, which it do to admiration.

17th. Up, and then fell into discourse, my wife and I to Ashwell, and much against my will I am fain to express a willingness to Ashwell that she should go from us, and yet in my mind I am glad of it, to ease me of the charge. After dinner comes our old mayde Susan to look for a gorgett that she says she

has lost by leaving it here, and by many circumstances it being clear to me that Hannah, our present cook-mayde, not only has it, but had it on upon her necke when Susan came in, and shifted it off presently upon her coming in, I did charge her so home with it, that in a huff she told us she would be gone to-night if I would pay her her wages, which I was glad of, and so fetched her wages, and so she went away in a quarter of an hour's time. Till my house is settled, I do not see that I can mind my business of the office, which grieves me to the heart.

18th. At noon home, and my father came and dined with me, Susan being come and helped my wife to dress dinner. After dinner my father and I talked about our country matters, and in fine I find that he thinks 50*l.* per ann. will go near to keepe them all, which I am glad of.

19th. Up betimes, and my wife up and about the house, Susan beginning to have her drunken tricks. I out and to Mr. Hollyard, and took a note under his hand to drink wine with my beer, without which I was obliged, by my private vowe, to drink none a good while, and have strictly observed it, and by my drinking of small beere and not eating, I am so mightily troubled with wind, that I know not what to do almost. Thence to White Hall, and there met Mr. Moore, and fell a talking about my Lord's folly at Chelsey. So home, and there found my wife almost mad with Susan's tricks, so as she is forced to let her go and leave the house all in dirt, and gets Goody Taylour to do the business for her till another comes.

20th. To my office, and there we sat all the morning, and at noon dined at home, and there found a little girle, which she told my wife her name was Jinny, by which name we shall call her. I think a good likely girle, and a parish child of St. Bride's, of

honest parentage, and recommended by the churchwarden. In the evening came Commissioner Pett, who fell foule on me for my carriage to him at Chatham, wherein, after protestation of my love and good meaning to him, he was quiett; but I doubt he will not be able to do the service there that any other man of his ability would. This evening the girle that was brought to me to-day for so good a one, being cleansed of lice by my wife, and good, new clothes put on her back, she run away from Goody Taylour that was shewing her the way to the bakehouse, and we heard no more of her.

21st. Meeting with Mr. Creed he told me how my Lord Teviott hath received another attaque from Guyland at Tangier with 10,000 men, and at last, as is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him. Thence to my brother's, and there told him how my girle had served us which he sent me, and directed him to get my clothes again, and get the girle whipped. So to Deptford, where I found Sir W. Batten, but he was got to Mr. Waith's to dinner, where I dined with him, a good dinner and good discourse, and his wife, I believe, a good woman. We fell in discourse of Captain Cocke, and how his lady has lost all her fine linen almost, but besides that they say she gives out she had 3,000*l.* worth of linen, which we all laugh at. After dinner to Greenwich to the musique-house, where we had paltry musique, till the master organist came, whom by discourse I afterwards knew, having employed him for my Lord Sandwich, to prick out something, and he did give me a fine voluntary or two, and so home by water, and at home I find my girle that run away brought by a bedel of St. Bride's Parish, and stripped her and sent her away, and a newe one come, which I think will prove a pretty girle. Her name, Susan.

This evening I paid Mr. Hunt 3*l*. for my viall, and he tells me that I may, without flattery, say, I have as good a Theorbo viall and viallin as is in England.

22nd. Up by four o'clock to go with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes to Woolwich. Here we eat and drank at the Clerke of the Cheques, and in taking water at the Tower gate, we drank a cup of strong water, which I did out of pure conscience to my health, and I think is not excepted by my oaths, but it is a thing I shall not do again, hoping to have no such occasion. After breakfast Mr. Castle and I walked to Greenwich, and in our way met some gipsies, who would needs tell me my fortune, and I suffered one of them, who told me many things common as others do, but bade me beware of a John and a Thomas, for they did seek to do me hurt, and that somebody should be with me this day se'nnight to borrow money of me, but I should lend him none. She got ninepence of me. And so I left them and to Greenwich and so to Deptford, where the two knights were come, and so home by water. This day Sir W. Batten tells me that Mr. Newburne is dead of eating cowcumpers,¹ of which, the other day, I heard another, I think Sir Nicholas Crisp's son.

23rd. To church without my wife, she being all dirty as my house is. Home to dinner, and then to walk up and down in my house with my wife, discoursing of our family matters, and I hope, after all my troubles of mind and jealousy, we shall live happily still. To church again, and so home to my

¹ "Le Grand d'Aussy ('Histoire de la vie privée de Français, edit. Roquefort,' 8vo. tome i. p. 161) cites this passage from Champier, who wrote in the year 1560: 'Le concombres, quoiqu' assez recherché en France, était cependant un aliment très malsain, et que les habitants du Forez qui en mangeaient beaucoup étaient sujets à des fièvres périodiques.'

"Miss Strickland thinks Mary imported them from Spain. They were grown in England in the time of Tusser (see 'Five Hundred

wife ; and with her read "Iter Boreale,"¹ a poem, made just at the King's coming home ; but I never read it before, and now like it pretty well, but not so as it was cried up. After supper to prayers and to bed, having been, by a sudden letter coming to me from Mr. Coventry, been with Sir W. Pen, to discourse with him about sending 500 soldiers into Ireland. I doubt matters do not go very right there.

24th. At my Lord Sandwich's, where I was a good while alone with my Lord ; and I perceive he confides in me and loves me as he uses to do, and tells me his condition, which is now very well : all I fear is that he will not live within compass. There came to him this morning his prints of the river Tagus and the City of Lisbon, which he measured with his owne hand, and printed by command of the King. My Lord pleases himself with it, but methinks it ought to have been better done than by Jobing. Besides I put him upon having some took off upon white sattin, which he ordered presently. I offered my Lord my accounts, and did give him up his old bond for 500*l.* and took a new one of him for 700*l.*, which I am by lending him more money to make up : and I am glad of it. My Lord would have had me dine with him, but I had a mind to go home to my workmen, and so took a kind good bye of him, and to the New Exchange, and there drank some whey, and so by water home, and found my closett at my office made very neat and clean to my mind mightily, and home to dinner, and then to my Points of Good Husbandry ')." — BUCKLE, *Common Place Book*, vol. ii. pp. 377-8. (M. B.)

¹ Robert Wild, a Nonconformist Divine, published a poem in 1660, upon Monk's march from Scotland to London, called "Iter Boreale," and Wood mentions three others of the same name by Eades, Corbett, and Marten, it having been a favourite subject at that time.

office to brush my books, and to supper, then to work in my chamber, making matters of this day's accounts clear in my books, they being a little extraordinary, and so being very late I put myself to bed, the rest being long ago gone.

25th. To the office, where we sat ; and being rose, and Mr. Coventry taking his leave, for that he is to go to the Bath with the Duke to-morrow, I to the 'Change. So home at 2 o'clock, and there I found Ashwell gone, and her wages come to 50s., and my wife, by a mistake from me, did give her 20s. more ; but I am glad that she is gone and the charge saved. After dinner with my Joyners, and with them till dark night, and they made an end of all ; and so having paid them 40s. for their six days' worke, I am glad they have ended and are gone. My wife growing peevish at night, being weary, and I a little vexed to see that she do not retain things in her memory that belong to the house as she ought and I myself do, I went out in a little seeming discontent to the office, and after being there a little while, home to supper and to bed. This noon going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall-street, and upon enquiry I find that he is the clerke of the City Market ; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor¹ begins again an old custome, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fayre, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and Aldermen in Moorefields yesterday : to-day, shooting : and to-morrow, hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the city, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems that the people of the fayre cry out upon it as a great hindrance to them.

¹ Sir John Robinson. See 30th Oct., 1662. (M. B.)

26th. To White Hall, where the Court full of waggons and horses, the King and Court going this day out towards the Bath. Pleased this day to see Captn. Hickes come to me with a list of all the officers of Deptford Yarde, wherein he, being a high old Cavalier, do give me an account of every one of them to their reproach in all respects, and discovers many of their knaverys; and tells me, and so I thank God I hear every where, that my name is up for a good husband for the King, and a good man, for which I bless God; and that he did this by particular direction of Mr. Coventry.

27th. Up, after much pleasant talke with my wife and a little that vexes me, for I see that she is confirmed in it that all that I do is by design, and that my very keeping of the house in dirt, and the doing of this and any thing else in the house, is but to find her employment to keep her within and from minding of her pleasure, which, though I am sorry to see she minds it, is true enough in a great degree. Down to see some good plank in the river with Sir W. Batten and home again, and after seeing Sir W. Pen, to my office, and there till late doing of business, being mightily encouraged by every body that I meet withal upon the 'Change and every where else, that I am taken notice of for a man that do the King's business wholly and well. For which the Lord be praised, for I know no honour I desire more. I found a feacho (as he calls it) of fine sugar and a case of orange-flower water come from Mr. Cocke, of Lisbon, the fruits of my last year's service to him, which I did in great justice to the man, a perfect stranger.

28th. Cold all night and this morning, and a very great frost they say abroad, which is much, having had no summer at all almost.

29th. Abroad with my wife by water to West-

minster, and there left her at my Lord's lodgings, and I to Jervas the barber's, and there was trimmed, and did deliver back a periwigg, which he brought by my desire the other day to show me, having some thoughts, though no great desire or resolution yet to wear one, and so I put it off for a while. Thence to my wife, and calling at both the Exchanges, buying stockings for her and myself, and also at Leadenhall, where she and I, it being candlelight, bought meat for to-morrow, having never a mayde to do it, and I myself bought, while my wife was gone to another shop, a leg of beef, a good one, for six pence,¹ and my wife says is worth my money. So walked home with a woman carrying our things. I am mightily displeased at a letter Tom sent me last night, to borrow 20*l.* more of me, and yet gives me no account, as I have long desired, how matters stand with him in the world. I am troubled also to see how, contrary to my expectation, my brother John neither is the scholler nor minds his studies as I thought he would have done, but loiters away his time, so that I must send him soon to Cambridge again.

31st. Up and at my office all the morning, where Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes did pay the short allowance money to the East India companies, and by the assistance of the City Marshall and his men, did lay hold of two or three of the chief of the companies that were in the mutiny the other day, and sent them to prison. This noon came Jane Gentleman to serve my wife as her chamber mayde. I wish she may prove well. So ends this month, with my mind pretty well in quiett, and in good disposition of health since my drinking at home of a little wine with my beer; but no where else do I drink any wine at all. The King and Queene and the

¹ This must be a mistake in the MS. Query, six shillings? (M. B.)

Court at the Bath, my Lord Sandwich in the country newly gone.

Sept. 1st. Up pretty betimes, and after a little at my viall to my office, where we sat all the morning, and I got my bill among others for my carved work (which I expected to have paid for myself) signed at the table, and hope to get the money back again, though if the rest had not got it paid by the King, I never intended nor did desire to have him pay for my vanity. In the evening my brother John coming to me to complain that my wife seems to be discontented at his being here, and shows him great disrespect; so I took and walked with him in the garden, and discoursed long with him about my affairs, and how imprudent it is for my father and mother and him to take exceptions without great cause at my wife, considering how much it concerns them to keep her their friend and for my peace; not that I would ever be led by her to forget or desert them in the main, but yet she deserves to be pleased and complied with a little, considering the manner of life that I keep her to, and how convenient it were for me to have Brampton for her to be sent to when I have a mind or occasion to go abroad to Portsmouth or elsewhere. So directed him how to behave himself to her, and gave him other counsel; and so to my office, where late.

2nd. Up betimes and to my office, and thence with Sir J. Minnes by coach to White Hall, where met us Sir W. Batten, and there staid by the Council Chamber till the Lords called us, being appointed four days ago to attend them with an account of the riott among the seamen the other day, when Sir J. Minnes did as like a coxcomb as ever I saw any man speak in my life, and so we were dismissed, they making nothing almost of the matter. We staid long without, till by and by my Lord Mayor comes, who also was commanded to be there, and he having, we

not being within with him, an admonition from the Lords to take better care of preserving the peace, we joyned with him, and the Lords having commanded Sir J. Minnes to prosecute the fellows for the riott, we rode along with my Lord Mayor in his coach to the Sessions House in the Old Bayley, where the Sessions are now sitting. Here I heard two or three ordinary tryalls, among others one (which, they say, is very common now-a-days, and therefore in my now taking of mayds I resolve to look to have somebody to answer for them) a woman that went and was indicted by four names for entering herself a cooke-mayde to a gentleman that prosecuted her there, and after 3 days run away with a silver tankard, a porringer of silver, and a couple of spoons, and being now found is found guilty, and likely will be hanged. By and by up to dinner with my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and a very great dinner and most excellent venison, but it almost made me sicke by not daring to drink wine. After dinner into a withdrawing room ; and there we talked, among other things, of the Lord Mayor's sword. They tell me this sword, they believe, is at least a hundred or two hundred years old ; and another that he hath, which is called the Black Sword, which the Lord Mayor wears when he mournes, but properly is their Lenten sword to wear upon Good Friday and other Lent days, is older than that. Mr. Lewellin, lately come from Ireland, tells me how the English interest falls mightily there, the Irish party being too great, so that most of the old rebells are found innocent, and their lands, which were forfeited and bought or given to the English, are restored to them ; which gives great discontent there among the English. Going through the City, my Lord Mayor told me how the pillar set up by Exeter House is only to show where the pipes of water run to the City ; and observed that this City

is as well watered as any city in the world, and that the bringing the water to the City hath cost it first and last above 300,000*l.*; but by the new building, and the building of St. James's by my Lord St. Albans, which is now about (and which the City stomach I perceive highly, but dare not oppose it), were it now to be done, it would not be done for a million of money.

3rd. To Sir W. Batten, who is going this day for pleasure down to the Downes. I eat a breakfast with them, and at my Lady's desire with them by coach to Greenwich, where I went aboard with them on the Charlotte yacht. The wind very high, and I believe they will be all sicke enough, besides that she is mighty troublesome on the water. I left them under sayle, and I to Deptford, and, after a word or two with Sir J. Minnes, walked to Redriffe and so home. In my way overtaking of a beggar or two that looked like Gypsies, it came into my head what the Gypsies 8 or 9 days ago had foretold, that somebody that day se'nnight should be with me to borrow money, but I should lend none; and looking, when I came to my office, upon my journall, that my brother John had brought a letter that day from my brother Tom to borrow 20*l.* more of me, which had vexed me so that I had sent the letter to my father into the country, to acquaint him of it, and how little he is beforehand that he is still forced to borrow. But it pleased me mightily to see how, contrary to my expectations, having so lately lent him 20*l.*, and belief that he had money by him to spare, and that after some days not thinking of it, I should look back and find what the Gypsy had told me to be so true.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and there bought the first newes-books of L'Estrange's¹ writing, he begin-

¹ Roger L'Estrange, author of numerous pamphlets and periodical papers. He was Licensor of the Press to Charles II. and his

ning this week; and makes, methinks, but a simple ginning. Creed and I to Mr. Povy's, and he not being at home, walked to Lincoln's Inn walks,¹ which they are making very fine, and about one o'clock went back to Povy's; and by and by in comes he, and so we sat down to dinner, and his lady, whom I never saw before (a handsome old woman that brought him money that makes him do as he does), and so we had plenty of meat and drink, though I drunk no wine, though mightily urged to it. After dinner done, to see his new cellars, which he has made so fine with so noble an arch and such contrivances for his barrels and bottles, and in a room next to it such a grotto and fountayne, which in summer will be so pleasant as nothing in the world can be almost. But to see how he himself do pride himself too much in it, and command and expect to have all admiration, though indeed everything do highly deserve it, is a little troublesome. Thence Creed and I away, and by his importunity away by coach to Bartholomew Fayre, where I have no mind to go without my wife, and therefore rode through the fayre without lighting, and away home, leaving him there; and at home made my wife get herself presently ready, and so carried her by coach to the

successor; and M.P. for Winchester in James II.'s Parliament. Ob. 1704, aged 88. In 1663 L'Estrange set up a paper called "The Public Intelligencer" and "The News." The first of these papers came out on the 1st of August, and continued to be published twice a week till January 19th, 1665, when it was superseded by the scheme of publishing the "London Gazette," the first of which appeared on the 4th of February following. L'Estrange was knighted in the reign of James II. (M. B.)

¹ Lincoln's Inn Fields were first disposed into their present regular appearance by Inigo Jones. He built some of the houses (on the western side), and gave to the ground plot of the square the exact dimensions of the base of one of the pyramids of Egypt. (M. B.)

fayre, and showed her the monkeys dancing on the ropes, which was strange, but such dirty sport that I was not pleased with it. There was also a horse with hoofs like rams hornes, a goose with four feet, and a cock with three. Thence to another place, and saw some German Clocke works, the Salutation of the Virgin Mary, and several Scriptural stories; but above all there was at last represented the sea, with Neptune, Venus, mermaids, and Ayrid¹ on a dolphin, the sea rocking, so well done, that had it been in a gaudy manner and place, and at a little distance, it had been admirable. Thence home by coach with my wife, and I awhile to the office, and so to supper and to bed. This day I read a Proclamation for calling in and commanding every body to apprehend my Lord Bristoll.

5th. After dinner mightily importuned by Captain Hicks, who came to tell my wife the names and story of all the shells, which was a pretty present he made her the other day. He being gone, Creed, my wife, and I to Cornhill, and after many tryalls bought my wife a chintz, that is, a painted Indian callico, for to line her new study, which is very pretty. So home with her, and then I away to Captain Minors upon Tower Hill, and there, abating only some impertinence of his, I did inform myself well in things relating to the East Indys; both of the country and the disappointment the King met with the last voyage, by the knavery of the Portugall Viceroy, and the inconsiderableness of the place of Bombaim,² if we had had it. But, above all things, it seems strange to me that matters should not be understood before they went out; and also that such a thing as this, which was expected to be one of the best parts of the Queene's portion, should not be better understood;

¹ Arion. (M. B.)

² Bombay.

it being, if we had it, but a poor place, and not really so as was described to our King in the draught of it, but a poor little island ; whereas they made the King and Lord Chancellor, and other learned men about the King, believe that that, and other islands which are near it, were all one piece ; and so the draught was drawn and presented to the King, and believed by the King, and expected to prove so when our men came thither ; but it is quite otherwise. I hear this day that Sir W. Batten was fain to put ashore at Queenborough with my Lady, who has been so sicke she swears never to go to sea again.

7th. To the Black Spread Eagle in Bride Lane, and there had a chopp of veale and some bread, cheese, and beer, cost me a shilling to my dinner ; and so to Bartholomew Fayre, where I met with Mr. Pickering, and he and I to see the monkeys at the Dutch house, which is far beyond the other that my wife and I saw the other day ; and thence to see the dancing on the ropes, which was very poor and tedious. But he and I fell in discourse about my Lord Sandwich. He tells me how he is sorry for my Lord at his being at Chelsey, and that his but seeming so to my Lord without speaking one word, had put him clear out of my Lord's favour, so as that he was fain to leave him before he went into the country, for that he was put to eat with his servants ; but I could not fish from him, though I knew it, what was the matter ; but am very sorry to see that my Lord hath thus much forgot his honour, but am resolved not to meddle with it. The play being done I stole from him and hied home, buying several things at the ironmonger's—dogs, tongs, and shovels—for my wife's closett and the rest of my house. By my letters from Tangier to-day I hear that it grows very strong by land, and the Mole goes on. They have lately killed two hundred of the Moores, and

lost about forty or fifty. I am mightily afeard of laying out too much money in goods upon my house, but it is not money flung away, though I reckon nothing money but when it is in the bank, till I have a good sum beforehand in the world.

8th. Up and to my vyall a while, and then to my office on Phillips having brought me a draught of the Katherine yacht, prettily well done for the common way of doing it. At the office all the morning making up our last half year's account to my Lord Treasurer, which comes to 160,000*l.* or thereabouts, the proper expense of this half year, only with an addition of 13,000*l.* for the 3*d.* due of the last account to the Treasurer for his disbursements, and 1,100*l.* for this half year's; so that in three years and a half his 3*d.* come to 14,100*l.* Dined at home with my wife. It being washing day, we had a good pie baked of a leg of mutton; and then to Moxon's, and there bought a payre of globes cost me 3*l.* 10*s.*, with which I am well pleased, I buying them principally for my wife, who has a mind to understand them, and I shall take pleasure to teach her. But here I saw his great window in his dining room, where there is the two Terrestrial Hemispheres, so painted as I never saw in my life, and nobly done and to good purpose, done by his own hand.

9th. By water to Woolwich, and thence walked to Greenwich; in my way a little boy overtook us with a fine cupp turned out of *Lignum Vitæ*, which the poor child confessed was made in the King's yarde by his father, a turner there, and that he do often do it, and that I might have one, and God knows what, which I shall examine. So home to dinner, finding my poor wife busy. I met with Ned Pickering, he telling me the whole business of my Lord's folly with this Mrs. Becke, at Chelsey, of all which I am ashamed to see my Lord so grossly play the foole, to

the flinging off of all honour, friends, servants, and every thing and person that is good, with his carrying her abroad and playing on his lute under her window, and forty other poor sordid things, which I am grieved to hear; but believe it to no purpose for me to meddle with it, but let him go on till God Almighty and his owne conscience and thoughts of his lady and family do it.

10th. All the morning making a great contract with Sir W. Warren for 3,000*l.* worth of masts; but, good God! to see what a man might do, were I a knave, the whole business from beginning to end being done by me out of the office, and signed to by them upon the once reading of it to them, without the least care or consultation either of quality, price, number, or need of them, only in general that it was good to have a store. But I hope my pains was such, as the King has the best bargaine of masts has been bought these 27 years in this office. Mr. Moore tells me of the good peace that is made at Tangier with the Moores, but to continue but from six months to six months, and that the Mole is laid out and likely to be done with great ease and successe, we to have a quantity of ground for our cattle about the towne to our use.

11th. This morning, about two or three o'clock, knocked up in our back yarde, and rising to the window, being moonshine, I found it was the constable and his watch, who had found our back yarde door open, and so came in to see what the matter was. So I desired them to shut the door, and bid them good night.

12th. Up betimes, and by water to White Hall: and thence to Sir Philip Warwick,¹ and there had

¹ Sir Philip Warwick was born 1608. In 1646 he was one of the Royal Commissioners empowered to treat with the Parliament. At the Restoration he was returned member for Westminster, and

half an hour's private discourse with him ; and did give him some good satisfaction in our Navy matters, and he also me, as to the money paid and due to the Navy ; so as he makes me assured by particulars, that Sir G. Carteret is paid within 80,000*l.* every farthing that we to this day, nay to Michaelmas day next have demanded ; and that, I am sure, is above 50,000*l.* more than truly our expenses have been, whatever is become of the money. Home with great content that I have thus begun an acquaintance with him, who is a great man, and a man of as much business as any man in England ; which I will endeavour to deserve and keep.

13th (Lord's day). Put my clothes in order against to-morrow's journey to Brampton. At supper saying to my wife, in ordinary fondness, "Well! shall you and I never travel together again?" she took me up and offered and desired to go along with me. After some difficulty made I did send about for a horse and other things.

14th. By coach to Bishop's Gate, it being a very promising fair day. There at the Dolphin we met my uncle Thomas and his son-in-law, which seems a very sober man, and Mr. Moore. So Mr. Moore and my wife set out before, and my uncle and I staid for his son Thomas, who, by a sudden resolution, is preparing to go with us, which makes me fear something of mischief which they design to do us. He staying a great while, the old man and I before, and about eight miles off, his son comes after us, and about six miles further we overtake Mr. Moore and my wife, which makes me mightily consider what a great deal of ground is lost in a little time, when it is to be got up again by another, that is to go his owne ground and the other's too ; and so after a little was knighted and replaced in his situation of Clerk to the Signet. (M. B.)

bayte (I paying all the reckonings the whole journey) at Ware, to Buntingford, where my wife, by drinking some cold beer, being hot herself, presently after 'lighting, begins to be sicke, and became so pale, and I alone with her in a great chamber there, that I thought she would have died, and so in great horror, and having a great tryall of my true love and passion for her, called the mayds and mistresse of the house, and so with some strong water, she came to be pretty well again; and so to bed, and I having put her to bed with great content, I called in my company, and supped in the chamber by her, and being very merry in talke, supped and then parted. This day my cozen Thomas dropped his hanger, and it was lost.

15th. Up pretty betimes and rode as far as Godmanchester, Mr. Moore having two falls, once in water and another in dirt, and there light and eat and drunk, being all of us very weary, but especially my uncle and wife. Thence to Brampton to my father's, and there found all well, and so my father, cozen Thomas, and I up to Hinchinbroke, where I find my Lord and his company gone to Boughton, which vexed me; but there I find my Lady and the young ladies, and there I alone with my Lady two hours, she carrying me through every part of the house and gardens, which are, and will be, mighty noble indeed. Here I saw Mrs. Betty Pickering, who is a very well-bred and comely lady, but very fat. Thence home and to a good supper, after I had had an hour's talke with my father abroad in the fields, wherein he begun to talke very highly of my promises to him of giving him the profits of Sturtlow, as if it were nothing that I give him out of my purse, and that he would have me to give this also from myself to my brothers and sister; I mean Brampton and all, I think. I confess I was angry to hear him talke in that manner, and took him up

roundly in it. After supper my uncle and his son to Stankes's to bed, which troubles me, all my father's beds being lent to Hinchingbroke.

16th. To the Court, and heard Sir R. Bernard's charges to the Courts Baron and Leete, which took up till noon, and were worth hearing, and after dinner to the Court again, where Sir Robert and his son came by and by, and then to our business, and my father and I having given bond to him for the 21*l*. Piggott owed him, my uncle Thomas did quietly admit himself and surrender to us the lands first mortgaged for our whole debt, and Sir Robert added to it what makes it up 209*l*., to be paid in six months. So the Court broke up, and so by and by home and to supper, and with my mind in pretty good quiett, to bed.

17th. I was forced to come to a new consideration, whether it was fit for to let my uncle and his son go to Wisbeach about my uncle Day's estate alone or no, and concluded it unfit; and so, leaving my wife there, I begun a journey with them, and with much ado, through the fenns, along dikes, where sometimes we were ready to have our horses sink to the belly, we got by night, with great deal of stir and hard riding, to Parson's Drove, a heathen place, where I found my uncle and aunt Perkins, and their daughters, poor wretches! in a sad, poor thatched cottage, like a poor barne, or stable, peeling of hempe, in which I did give myself good content to see their manner of preparing of hempe; and in a poor condition of habitt took them to our miserable inne, and there, after long stay, and hearing of Frank, their son, the miller, play upon his treble, as he calls it, with which he earne part of his living, and singing of a country loose song, we sat down to supper; the whole crew, and Frank's wife and child, a sad company, of which I was ashamed, supped with us. By

and by newes is brought to us that one of our horses is stole out of the stable, which proves my uncle's, at which I am inwardly glad—I mean, that it was not mine ; and at this we were at a great losse ; and they doubting a person that lay at next door, a Londoner, some lawyer's clerke, we caused him to be secured in his bed, and other care to be taken to seize the horse ; and so about twelve at night or more, to bed in a sad, cold, nasty chamber, only the mayde was indifferent handsome, and so I had a kisse or two of her, and a little after I was asleep they waked me to tell me that the horse was found, which was good newes, and so to sleep till the morning, but was bit cruelly, and nobody else of our company, which I wonder at, by the gnatts.

18th. Up, and got our people together as soon as we could ; and after eating a dishe of cold creame, which was my supper last night too, we took leave of our beggarly company, though they seem good people, too ; and over most sad Fenns, all the way observing the sad life which the people of the place (which if they be born there, they do call the Breedlings of the place) do live, sometimes rowing from one spot to another, and then wadeing, to Wisbeach, a pretty towne, and a fine church and library, where sundry very old abbey manuscripts ; and a fine house, built on the church ground by Secretary Thurlow, and a fine gallery built for him in the church, but now all in the Bishop of Ely's hands. After visiting the church, &c., we went out of the towne, by the helpe of a stranger, to find out one Blinkhorne, a miller, of whom we might inquire something of old Day's disposal of his estate, and in whose hands it now is ; and by great chance we met him, and brought him to our inne to dinner ; and instead of being informed in his estate by this fellow, we find that he is the next heire to the estate, which was matter of

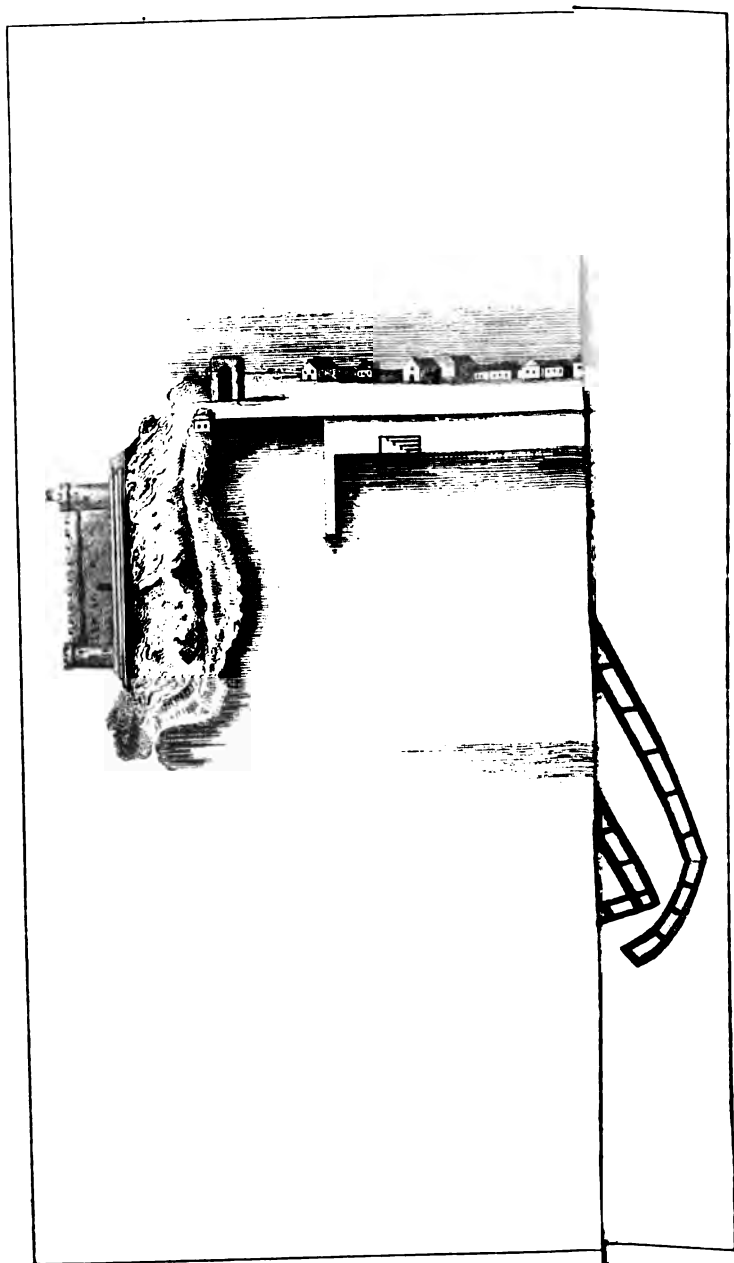
great sport to my cozen Thomas and me, to see such a fellow prevent us in our hopes, he being Day's brother's daughter's son, whereas we are but his sister's sons and grandsons; so that, after all, we were fain to propose our matter to him, and to get him to give us leave to look after the business, and so he to have one-third part, and we two to have the other two-third parts, of what should be recovered of the estate, which he consented to; and after some discourse and paying the reckoning, we mounted again, and rode, being very merry at our defeate, to Chatteris, my uncle very weary, and after supper, and my telling of three stories, to their good liking, of spirits, we all three in a chamber went to bed.

19th. Up pretty betimes, and after eating something, we set out and I (being willing thereto) went by a mistake with them to St. Ives, and there, it being known that it was their nearer way to London, I took leave of them, they going straight to London and I to Brampton, where I find my father ill in bed still, and Madam Norbery, whom and her fair daughter and sister I was ashamed to kisse, but did, my lip being sore with riding in the winde and bit with the gnatts: and they being gone, I told my father my successe. And after dinner my wife and I took horse, and rode with marvellous, and the first and only houre of pleasure, that ever I had in this estate since I had to do with it, to Brampton woods; and through the wood rode, and gathered nuts in my way, and then at Graffam to an old woman's house to drink, where my wife used to go; and being in all circumstances highly pleased, and in my wife's riding and good company at this time, I rode, and she showed me the river behind my father's house, which is very pleasant, and so saw her home, and I straight to Huntingdon; and there a barber came and trimmed me, and thence walked to Hinchingbroke, where my

fitting my wife's closett and my house, and making her a velvet coate, and me a new black cloth suit, and coate and cloake.

23rd. At noon by water to my Lord Crew's, and there dined with him and Sir Thomas, thinking to have them inquire something about my Lord's lodgings at Chelsey, but they did not, nor seem to take the least notice of it, which is their discretion, though it might be better for my Lord and them too if they did, that so we might advise together for the best. To my office, whither by and by came my brother John, who is to go to Cambridge to-morrow, and I did give him a most severe reprimand for his bad account he gives me of his studies. This I did with great passion and sharp words, which I was sorry to be forced to say, but that I think it for his good, forswearing doing anything for him, and that which I have yet, and now do give him, is against my heart, and will also be hereafter, till I do see him give me a better account of his studies. I was sorry to see him give me no answer, but, for ought I see, to hear me without great resentment, and such as I should have had in his condition. But I have done my duty, let him do his, for I am resolved to be as good as my word.

24th. I went forth by water to Sir Philip Warwick's, where I was with him a pretty while; and in discourse he tells me, and made it appear to me, that the King cannot be in debt to the Navy at this time 5,000*l.*; and it is my opinion that Sir G. Carteret do owe the King money, and yet the whole Navy debt paid. Thence I parted, being doubtful of myself that I have not spoke with the gravity and weight that I ought to do in so great a business. But I rather hope it is my doubtfulness of myself, and the haste which he was in, some very great personages waiting for him without, while he was with



me, that made him willing to be gone. To the office by water, where we sat doing little, now Mr. Coventry is not here, but only vex myself to see what a sort of coxcombs we are when he is not here to undertake such a business as we do.

27th (Lord's day). Lay chatting with my wife a good while, then up and got me ready and to church. So home to dinner, and then to church again, where a drowsy sermon, and so home to spend the evening with my poor wife, consulting about her closett, clothes, and other things.

28th. To White Hall, where Sir J. Minnes and I did spend an houre in the Gallery, looking upon the pictures, in which he hath some judgment. And by and by the Commissioners for Tangier met: and there my Lord Tewiott, together with Captain Cuttance, Captain Evans, and Jonas Moore, sent to that purpose, did bring us a brave draught of the Mole to be built there; and report that it is likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world; and so I am apt to think it will. After discourse of this, and of supplying the garrison with some more horse, we rose; and Sir J. Minnes and I home again, finding the streete about our house full, Sir R. Ford beginning his shrievalty to-day: and, what with his and our houses being new painted, the streete begins to look a great deal better than it did, and more gracefull. Newes that the King comes to towne for certain on Thursday next from his progresse.¹

29th. Came Mr. Sympson to set up wife's chimney-piece in her closett, which pleases me.

¹ *Progress.* The travelling of the sovereign to visit different parts of his dominions. These were sometimes very burthensome to the subject, from the right assumed of seizing whatever was wanted for the use of the Court. The privilege was disused in the civil wars, and restrained and abridged by statute under Charles II. (M. B.)

30th. In the afternoon by water to White Hall, to the Tangier Committee; where my Lord Teviott about his accounts; which grieves me to see that his accounts being to be examined by us, there are none of the great men at the Board that in compliment will except against any thing in his accounts, and so none of the little persons dare do it: so the King is abused. To my office, and there I sat late making up my monthly accounts, and, blessed be God, I do find myself 760*l.* creditor, notwithstanding that for clothes for myself and wife, and layings out on her closett, I have spent this month 47*l.* So home, where I found our new cooke-mayde Elizabeth. Tomorrow the King, Queene, Duke and his Lady, and the whole Court comes to towne from their progresse. Myself and family well, only my father sicke in the country. All the common talke for newes is the Turke's advance in Hungary, &c.

October 1st. Up and betimes to my office, and then to sit, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. B., Sir W. P., Sir J. M., Mr. Coventry and myself, a fuller board than by the King's progressé and the late pays and my absence has been a great while. After dinner I by water to Deptford about a little business, and so back again, buying a couple of good eeles by the way.

2nd. Up betimes and by water to St. James's, and there visited Mr. Coventry as a compliment after his new coming to towne, but had no great talke with him, he being full of business. So back by foot through London, and at the Change met with Mr. Cutler, and he and I to a coffee-house, and there discoursed, and he do assure me that there is great likelihood of a war with Holland, but I hope we shall be in good condition before it comes to break out. I like his company, and will make much of his acquaintance. So home to dinner with my wife, who is over head and eares in getting her house up. This

day I received a letter from Mr. Barlow, with a Terella,¹ which I had hoped he had sent me, but to my trouble I find it is to present from him to my Lord Sandwich, but I will make a little use of it first, and then give it him.

3rd. To the office and home to dinner, and then abroad to buy a bell to hang by our chamber doore to call the mayds. I am troubled to see that my servants and others should be the greatest trouble I have in the world.

4th (Lord's day). Up and to church, my house being miserably overflowed with rayne last night, which makes me almost mad. To church again, and so home, and all the evening most pleasantly passed the time in good discourse of our fortune and family till supper, and so to bed.

5th. Met Creed, and he and I walked two or three hours, talking especially about Tangier, and my Lord Teviot's bringing in of high accounts, and yet if they were higher are like to pass without exception, and then of my Lord Sandwich sending a messenger to know whether the King intends to come to Newmarket, as is talked, that he may be ready to entertain him at Hinchinbroke. Thence home and dined, and my wife all day putting up her hangings in her closett, which she do very prettily herself with her owne hand, to my great content.

6th. My wife waked to ring the bell to call up our mayds to the washing about 4 o'clock, and I was and she angry that our bell did not wake them sooner, but I will get a bigger bell. To the office, where we had a full board, where we examined Cocke's second account, and Sir J. Minnes did boldly assert the truth of it, and that he had examined it, when

¹ "Terella or terrella, a loadstone in the form of a globe, with its poles and equator corresponding with the poles and equator of the earth."—LUDWIG'S *German Dictionary*. (M. B.)

there is no such thing, but many vouchers, upon examination, missing, and we saw reason to strike off several of his demands, and to bring down his 5 per cent. commission to 3 per cent. So we shall save the King some money, which both the Comptroller and his clerke had absolutely given away. There was also two occasions more of difference at the table; the one being to make out a bill to Captain Smith for his salary abroad as commander-in-chief in the Streights. Sir J. Minnes did demand an increase of salary for his being Vice-Admiral in the Downes, he having received but 40s. without an increase, when Sir J. Lawson, in the same voyage, had 3*l*., and others have also had increase, only he, because he was an officer of the board, was worse used than anybody else, and particularly told Sir W. Batten that he was the opposer formerly of his having an increase. So we hushed up the dispute, and offered, if he would, to examine precedents, and report them, if there was anything to his advantage to be found, to the Duke. The next was, Mr. Chr. Pett and Deane were summoned to give an account of some knees which Pett reported bad, that were to be served in by Sir W. Warren, we having contracted that none should be served but such as were to be approved of by our officers. So that if they were bad they were to be blamed for receiving them. Thence we fell to talk of Warren's other goods, which Pett had said were generally good, and falling to this contract again, I did say it was the most cautious and as good a contract as had been made here. Sir J. Minnes told me angrily that Winter's timber, bought for 33*s*. per load, was as good, and in the same terms I told him that it was not so, but that he and Sir W. Batten were both abused, and I would prove it was as dear a bargain as had been made this half yeare, which occasioned high words

between them and me, but I am able to prove it and will. At noon Luellin coming to me I took him and Deane, and there met my uncle Thomas, and we dined together, but was vexed that, it being washing-day, we had no meat dressed, but sent to the Cooke's, and my people had so little witt to send in our meat from abroad in that Cooke's dishes, which were marked with the name of the Cooke upon them, by which, if they observed anything, they might know it was not my owne dinner. After dinner we broke up, and I by coach to White Hall, where at the Committee of Tangier, but, Lord! how I was troubled to see my Lord Teviott's accounts of 10,000*l.* paid in that manner, and I wish 1000 times I had not been there. Thence rose with Sir G. Carteret and to his lodgings, and there discoursed of our frays at the table to-day, and particularly of that of the contract, and the contract of masts the other day, declaring my fair dealing, and so needing not any man's good report of it, and that I would make it so appear to him, if he desired it, which he did, and I will do it.

7th, 8th, 9th, 10th. My great fit of the Collique.¹ I did, however, make shift to go to the office, where we sat, and there Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten did advise me to take some Juniper water, and Sir W. Batten sent to his Lady for some for me, strong water made of Juniper.

12th. At St. James's we attended the Duke all of us. And there, after my discourse, Mr. Coventry of

¹ Pepys's prescription for the colic:

"Balsom of Sulphur, 3 or 4 drops in a spoonfull of Syrrup of Coltsfoote, not eating or drinking two hours before or after.

"The making of this Balsom:

" $\frac{3}{4}$ ^{ds} of fine Oyle, and $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d of fine Brimstone, sett 13 or 14 houres upon y^e fire, simpring till a thicke Stuffe lyes at y^e Bottome, and y^e Balsom at y^e topp. Take this off, &c.

"Sir Rob^t Parkhurst for y^e Collique." (M. B.)

his own accord begun to tell the Duke how he found that discourse abroad did run to his prejudice about the fees that he took, and how he sold places and other things; wherein he desired to appeal to his Highness, whether he did any thing more than what his predecessors did, and appealed to us all. So Sir G. Carteret did answer that some fees were heretofore taken, but what he knows not; only that selling of places never was nor ought to be countenanced. So Mr. Coventry very hotly answered to Sir G. Carteret, and appealed to himself whether he was not one of the first that put him upon looking after this taking of fees, and that he told him that Mr. Smith should say that he made 5,000*l.* the first year, and he believed he made 7,000*l.* This Sir G. Carteret denied, and said, that if he did say so he told a lie, for he could not, nor did know, that ever he did make that profit of his place; but that he believes he might say, 2,500*l.* the first year. Mr. Coventry instanced in another thing, particularly wherein Sir G. Carteret did advise with him about the selling of the Auditor's place of the stores, when in the beginning there was an intention of creating such an office. This he confessed, but with some lessening of the tale Mr. Coventry told, it being only for a respect to my Lord FitzHarding.¹ In fine, Mr. Coventry did put into the Duke's hand a list of above 250 places that he did give without receiving one farthing, so much as his ordinary fees for them, upon his life and oathe; and that since the Duke's establishment of fees he had never received one token more of any man; and that in his whole life

¹ Sir Charles Berkeley, mentioned before, created Lord Berkeley of Rathdown and Viscount Fitzharding in Ireland, second son to Sir Charles Berkeley of Bruton, co. Somerset; afterwards made an English peer by the titles of Lord Botetourt and Earl of Falmouth, and killed in the great sea-fight, June, 1665.

he never conditioned or discoursed of any consideration from any commanders since he came to the Navy. And afterwards, my Lord Barkeley merrily discoursing that he wished his profit greater than it was, and that he did believe that he had got 50,000*l.* since he came in, Mr. Coventry did openly declare that his Lordship, or any of us, should have not only all he had got, but all that he had in the world (and yet he did not come a beggar into the Navy, nor would yet be thought to speak in any contempt of his Royall Highness's bounty), and should have a year to consider of it too, for 25,000*l.* The Duke's answer was, that he wished we all had made more profit than he had of our places, and that we had all of us got as much as one man below stayres in the Court, which he presently named, and it was Sir George Lane.¹ So home and to dinner, and thence by coach to the Old Exchange, and there cheapened some laces for my wife, and then to the great lace-man in Cheapside, and bought one cost me 4*l.*, more by 20*s.* than I intended, but when I came to see them I was resolved to buy one worth wearing with credit, and so to the New Exchange, and there put it to making.

13th. After dinner John Cole, my old friend, came to see and speak with me about a friend. I find him ingenious, but more and more discern his city pedantry; but however, I will endeavour to have his company now and then, for that he knows much of the temper of the City, and is able to acquaint therein as much as most young men, being of large acquaintance, and himself, I think, somewhat unsatisfied with the present state of things at Court and in the Church. Then to the office, and there busy till late, and so home to my wife, with some ease and pleasure that I

¹ One of the Clerks of the Privy Council, and Secretary to the Marquis of Ormond.

hope to be able to follow my business again, which by God's leave I am resolved to return to with more and more eagerness. I find at Court, that either the King is doubtfull of some disturbance, or else would seem so (and I have reason to hope it is no worse), by his commanding all commanders of castles, &c., to repair to their charges; and mustering the Guards the other day himself, where he found reason to dislike their condition to my Lord Gerard, finding so many absent men, or dead pays. My Lady Castlemaine, I hear, is in as great favour as ever, and the King supped with her the very first night he came from Bath: and last night and the night before supped with her; when there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cooke telling her of it, she answered, "Zounds! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted!" So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted.

14th. After dinner my wife and I, by Mr. Rawlinson's conduct, to the Jewish Synagogue: where the men and boys in their vayles, and the women behind a lattice out of sight; and some things stand up, which I believe is their Law, in a press to which all coming in do bow; and at the putting on their vayles do say something, to which others that hear him do cry Amen, and the party do kiss his vayle. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another; and whether it is that every one desires to have the carrying of it, I cannot tell, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing. And in the end they had a prayer for the King, in which they pronounced his name in Portugall; but the prayer,

like the rest, in Hebrew. But, Lord! to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more: and indeed I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this. Away thence with my mind strangely disturbed with them, and I to White Hall, and there the Tangier Committee met, and so home after I had been a good while with Sir W. Pen, railing and speaking freely our minds against Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, but no more than the folly of one and the knavery of the other do deserve.

16th. By coach abroad with my wife, leaving her at my Lord's till I went to the Tangier Committee, where very good discourse concerning the Articles of peace to be continued with Guyland, and thence took up my wife, and with her to her tailor's,¹ and then to the Exchange.

17th. To the Dolphin Taverne, and there Mr. Gauden did give us a great dinner. Here we had some discourse of the Queene's being very sicke, if not dead, the Duke and Duchesse of York being sent for betimes this morning to come to White Hall to her.²

18th (Lord's day). Up, and troubled at a distaste my wife took at a small thing that Jane did, and to see that she should be so vexed, that I took part with Jane, wherein I had reason; but by and by well

¹ Gowns and other female articles of dress were formerly made by tailors.

"Come, *taylor*, let us see those ornaments,
Lay forth the gown."

SHAKESPEARE, *Taming of the Shrew*, act iv. sc. 3.
(M. B.)

² Vide in the Appendix some account of the Queen's illness, in the French Ambassador's Letters to Louis XIV.

again, and so my wife in her best gowne and new poynt that I bought her the other day, to church with me, where she has not been these many weeks, and her mayde Jane with her. The parson, Mr. Mills, I perceive, did not know whether to pray for the Queene or no, and so said nothing about her ; which makes me fear she is dead. But enquiring of Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better last night. To church again, and there a simple coxcombe preached worse than the Scot. After supper to prayers, and read very seriously my vowes, which I am fearful of forgetting by my late great expenses, but I hope in God I do not, and so to bed.

19th. Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, " I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high ! " fearing that the Queene might be dead. So up ; and going by coach with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, they tell me that Sir W. Compton, who it is true had been a little sickly for a week or fortnight, but was very well upon Friday at night last at the Tangier Committee with us, was dead—died yesterday : at which I was most exceedingly surprised, he being, and so all the world saying that he was, one of the worthyest men and best officers of State now in England ; and so in my conscience he was : of the best temper, valour, ability of mind, integrity, birth, fine person, and diligence of any one man he hath left behind him in the three kingdoms ; and yet not forty years old, or if so, that is all. I find the sober men of the Court troubled for him ; and yet not so as to hinder or lessen their mirth, talking, laughing, and eating, drinking, and doing every thing else, just as if there was no such thing, which is as good an instance for me hereafter to judge of death, both as to the unavoidableness, suddenness, and little effect of it upon the spirits of others, let a man be never so high, or

rich, or good, but that all die alike, no more matter being made of the death of one than another, and that even to die well, the praise of it is not considerable in the world, compared to the many in the world that know not nor make anything of it, nor perhaps to them (unless to one that is like this poor gentleman, who is one of a thousand, there nobody speaking ill of him) that will speak ill of a man. Coming to St. James's, I hear that the Queene did sleep five hours pretty well to-night, and that she waked and gargled her mouth, and to sleep again; but that her pulse beats fast, beating twenty to the King's or my Lady Suffolk's eleven; but not so strong as it was. It seems she was so ill as to be shaved and pigeons put to her feet, and to have the extreme unction given her by the priests, who were so long about it that the doctors were angry. The King, they all say, is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep;¹ which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheume from the head. This morning Captain Allen tells me how the famous Ned Mullins, by a slight fall, broke his leg at the ancle, which festered; and he had his leg cut off on Saturday, but so ill done, notwithstanding all the great chyrurgeons

¹ "The Queen was given over by her physicians, and the good nature of the king was much affected with the situation in which he saw a princess whom, though he did not love her, yet he greatly esteemed. She loved him tenderly, and thinking that it was the last time she should ever speak to him, she told him 'That the concern he shewed for her death was enough to make her quit life with regret; but that not possessing charms sufficient to merit his tenderness, she had at least the consolation in dying to give place to a consort who might be more worthy of it, and to whom heaven, perhaps, might grant a blessing that had been refused to her.' At these words she bathed his hands with some tears, which he thought would be her last; he mingled his own with hers, and without supposing she would take him at his word, he conjured her to live for his sake."—GRAMMONT, *Memoirs*. (M. B.)

about the towne at the doing of it, that they fear he will not live with it, which is very strange, besides the torment he was put to with it. After being a little with the Duke, and being invited to dinner to my Lord Barkeley's, and so, not knowing how to spend our time till noon, Sir W. Batten and I took coach, and to the Coffee-house in Cornhill; where much talke about the Turke's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Argier; and it is also carried to Hambrough. The Duke says the King purposes to forbid any of their ships coming into the river. The Duke also told us of several Christian commanders (French) gone over to the Turkes to serve them; and upon inquiry I find that the King of France do by this aspire to the Empire, and so to get the Crowne of Spayne also upon the death of the King, which is very probable, it seems. Back to St. James's, and there dined with my Lord Barkeley and his lady, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and myself, with two gentlemen more; my Lady, and one of the ladies of honour to the Duchesse (no handsome woman, but a most excellent hand). A fine French dinner.

20th. Up and to the office, where we sat; and at noon Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, and I to dinner to my Lord Mayor's, being invited, where was the Farmers of the Customes, my Lord Chancellor's three sons, and other great and much company, and a very great noble dinner, as this Mayor is good for nothing else. No extraordinary discourse of anything, every man being intent upon his dinner, and myself willing to have drunk some wine to have warmed my belly, but I did for my oathe's sake willingly refrain it, but am so well pleased and satisfied afterwards thereby, for it do keep me always in so good a frame of mind that I hope I shall not ever leave this practice. Thence home, and took my wife by coach to

White Hall, and she set down at my Lord's lodgings, I to a Committee of Tangier, and thence with her homeward, calling at several places by the way. Among others at Paul's Churchyarde, and while I was in Kirton's shop, a fellow came to offer kindness or force to my wife in the coach, but she refusing, he went away, after the coachman had struck him, and he the coachman. So I being called, went thither, and the fellow coming out again of a shop, I did give him a good cuff or two on the chops, and seeing him not oppose me, I did give him another; at last found him drunk, of which I was glad, and so left him, and home. This evening at my Lord's lodgings, Mrs. Sarah talking with my wife and I how the Queene do, and how the King tends her being so ill. She tells us that the Queene's sicknesse is the spotted fever; that she was as full of the spots as a leopard: which is very strange that it should be no more known; but perhaps it is not so. And that the King do seem to take it much to heart, for that he hath wept before her; but, for all that, that he hath not missed one night since she was sicke, of supping with my Lady Castlemaine; which I believe is true, for she says that her husband hath dressed the suppers every night; and I confess I saw him myself coming through the street dressing of a great supper to-night, which Sarah says is also for the King and her; which is a very strange thing.

21st. Up, and by and by comes my brother Tom to me, though late, which do vexe me to the blood that I could never get him to come time enough to me, though I have spoke a hundred times; but he is very sluggish, and too negligent ever to do well at his trade I doubt; and having lately considered with my wife very much of the inconvenience of my going in no better plight, we did resolve of putting me into a better garbe, and, among other things, to have a

good velvet cloake ; that is, of cloth lined with velvet and other things modish, and a perruque, and so I sent him and her out to buy me velvet, and I to the Exchange, and so to Trinity House, and there dined with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Rider. Thence, having my belly full, away on foot to my brother's, all along Thames Streete, and my belly being full of small beer, I did all alone, for health's sake, drink half a pint of Rhenish wine at the Still-yard, mixed with beer. From my brother's with my wife to the Exchange, to buy things for her and myself, I being in a humour of laying out money, but not prodigally, but only in clothes, which I every day see that I suffer for want of. This evening I begun to enter my wife in arithmetique, in order to her studying of the globes, and she takes it very well, and, I hope, with great pleasure ; I shall bring her to understand many fine things.

22nd. This morning, hearing that the Queene grows worse again, I sent to stop the making of my velvet cloake, till I see whether she lives or dies.

23rd. Up, and this morning comes Mr Clerke, and tells me that the Injunction against Trice is dismissed again, which troubles me much. So I am to look after it in the afternoon. There comes also by appointment my uncle Thomas, to receive the first payment of his daughter's money. But showing of me the original of the deed by which his daughter gives her right to her legacy to him, and the copy of it attested by the Scrivener for me to keep by me, I did find some difference, and thereupon did look more into it, and at last did find the whole thing a forgery ; yet he maintained it again and again, upon oathe, that it had been signed and sealed by my cozen Mary ever since before her marriage. So I told him to his teeth he did like a knave, and so he did, and went with him to the Scrivener at Bedlam, and there found how it came to pass, viz., that he had lost, or

pretends to have lost, the true original, and that so he was forced to take this course; but a knave, at least a man that values not what he swears to, I perceive he is. The Queene slept pretty well last night, but her fever continues upon her still. It seems she hath never a Portuguese doctor here. Weary, walked home; in my way bought a large kitchen knife and half a dozen oyster knives. Thence to Mr. Holliard, who tells me that Mullins is dead of his leg cut off the other day, but most basely done. Thence to Mr. Rawlinson's and saw some of my new bottles made, with my crest upon them, filled with wine, about five or six dozen.

24th. Busy all the morning about Mr. Gauden's account, and to dinner with him at the Dolphin, where mighty merry by pleasant stories of Mr. Coventry's and Sir J. Minnes's, which I have put down some of in my book of tales. Just as I was going out my uncle Thomas came to me with a draught of a bond for him and his sons to sign to me about the payment of the 20*l.* legacy, which I agreed to, but he would fain have had from me the copy of the deed, which he had forged and did bring me yesterday, but I would not give him it. Says he, I perceive then you will keep it to defame me with, and desired me not to speak of it, for he did it innocently. Thence by coach with Mr. Coventry to the Temple, and thence I to the Six Clerks' office, and discoursed with my Attorney and Solicitor. Thence called at Wotton's and tried some shoes, but he had none to fit me. He tells me that by the Duke of York's persuasion Harris is come again to Sir W. Davenant upon his terms that he demanded, which will make him very high and proud. The Queene is in a good way of recovery; and Sir Francis Pridgeon¹ hath got great honour by it, it being all

¹ Vertue (according to Walpole) had seen a portrait of Dr. Pru-

imputed to his cordiall, which in her dispaire did give her rest and brought her to some hopes of recovery. It seems that, after the much talke of troubles and a plot, something is found in the North that a party was to rise, and some persons that were to command it are found, as I find in a letter that Mr. Coventry read to-day about it from those parts.

25th (Lord's day). Up, and my wife and I to church, where it is strange to see how the use and seeing Pembleton come with his wife thither to church, I begin now to make no great matter of it, which before was so terrible to me. Dined at home, my wife and I alone, a good dinner, and so in the afternoon to church again, where the Scot preached, and I slept most of the afternoon. So home, and after reading my vowes to myself, and my wife with her mayds (who are mighty busy to get it despatched because of their mistress's promise, that when it is done they shall have leave all to go see their friends at Westminster, whither my wife will carry them) preparing for their washing to-morrow, we hastened to supper and to bed.

26th. My wife being waked rung her bell, and the mayds rose and went to washing, we to sleep again till 7 o'clock. To Westminster Hall, and spent the morning walking there, where, it being Terme time, I met several persons, and talked with them, among others Dr. Pierce, who tells me that the Queene is in a way to be pretty well again, but that her delirium in her head continues still; that she talks idle, not by fits, but always, which in some lasts a week after so high a fever, in some more, and

jeon painted by Streater, and a print of "Opinion sitting on a tree," thus inscribed: "Viro clariss. D^{no} Francisco Prujeano Medico, omnium bonarum artium et elegantiarum fautori et admiratori summo; D. D. D. H. Peacham." He was President of the College of Physicians, 1653.

in some for ever; that this morning she talked mightily that she was brought to bed, and that she wondered that she should be delivered without pain and without being sicke, and that she was troubled that her boy was but an ugly boy. But the King being by, said, "No, it is a very pretty boy."—"Nay," says she, "if it be like you it is a fine boy indeed, and I would be very well pleased with it." Seeing of Dr. Pridgeon, she said, "Nay, Doctor, you need not scratch your head, there is hair little enough already in the place." But methinks it was not handsome for the weaknesses of Princes to be talked of thus. Thence Creed and I to the King's Head ordinary, where much and very good company, among others one very talking man, but a scholler, that would needs put in his discourse and philosophy upon every occasion, and though he did well enough, yet his readiness to speak spoilt all. Here they say that the Turkes go on apace, and that my Lord Castlehaven¹ is going to raise 10,000 men here for to go against him; that the King of France do offer to assist the Empire upon condition that he may be their Generalissimo, and the Dolphin chosen King of the Romans: and it is said that the King of France do occasion this difference among the Christian Princes of the Empire, which gives the Turke such advantages. They say also that the King of Spayne is making all imaginable force against Portugall again. Thence Creed and I to one or two periwig shops about the Temple, having been very much displeased with one that we saw, a head of greasy and old woman's haire, at Jervas's in the morning; and there I think I shall fit myself of one very handsomely made. To the

¹ The eldest son of the infamous Earl of Castlehaven had a new creation to his father's forfeited titles, in 1634, and died s. p. 1684. He had served with distinction under the Duke of Ormond, and afterwards joined Charles II. at Paris.

Globe in Fleete Streete, and talking of the Emperor at table, one young gentleman, a pretty man, and it seems a Parliament man, did say that he was a sot; for he minded nothing of the Government, but was led by the Jesuites. Several at table took him up, some for saying that he was a sot in being led by the Jesuites, who are the best counsel he can take. Another commander, a Scottish Collonell, who I believe had several under him, that he was a man that had thus long kept out the Turke till now, and did many other great things, and lastly Mr. Progers,¹ one of our courtiers, who told him that it was not a thing to be said of any Sovereigne Prince, be his weaknesses what they will, to be called a sot, which methinks was very prettily said.

27th. Up, and my uncle Thomas and his scrivener bringing me a bond and affidavit to my mind, I paid him his 20*l.* for his daughter's legacy, and 5*l.* more for a Quarter's annuity. After dinner abroad by coach to Dr. Williams, and with him to the Six Clerks's office, and there I find that my case, through my neglect and the neglect of my lawyers, is come to be very bad, so as that it will be very hard to get my bill retayned again. We parted, and met T. Trice coming into the room, my clerke, and then he began to ask why we could not think, being friends, of referring it; and put it to some good lawyer to judge in it. From one word to more we were resolved to try, and to that end to step to the Pope's Head Taverne, and there he and his Clerke and Attorney and I and my Clerke, and sent for Mr. Smallwood, and by and by comes Mr. Clerke, my Solicitor. I resolved to condescend very low, and after some talke all together Trice and I retired, and he came to 150*l.* the lowest, and I bid him 80*l.* So broke off

¹ Edward Progers, valet-de-chambre to the King, and confidant of his love affairs. See 22nd February, 1663-4, and Grammont Memoirs. (M. B.)

and then went to our company, and they putting us to a second private discourse, at last I was contented to give him 100*l*. he to spend 40*s*. of it amongst this good company to-morrow come se'nnight at Mr. Rawlinson's. So home. Mr. Coventry tells me to-day that the Queene had a very good night last night; but yet it is strange that still she raves and talks of little more than of her having of children, and fancys now that she hath three children, and that the girle is very like the King. And this morning about five o'clock, the physician feeling her pulse, thinking to be better able to judge, she being still and asleep, waked her, and the first word she said was, "How do the children?"

28th. This morning Mr. Blackburne came to me, and telling me what complaints Will made of the usage he had from my wife and other discouragements, and I seeing him, instead of advising, rather favouring his kinsman, I told him freely my mind, but friendlily, and so we have concluded to have him have a lodging elsewhere, and that I will spare him 15*l*. of his salary, and if I do not need to keep another 20*l*.

29th. Up, it being my Lord Mayor's day, Sir Anthony Bateman. This morning was brought home my new velvet cloake, that is, lined with velvet, a good cloth the outside, the first that ever I had in my life, and I pray God it may not be too soon now that I begin to wear it. I had it this day brought, thinking to have worn it to dinner, but I thought it would be better to go without it because of the crowde, and so I did not wear it. We met a little at the office, and then home again and got me ready to go forth, my wife being gone forth by my consent before to see her father and mother, and taken her cooke mayde and little girle to Westminster with her for them to see their friends. This morning in dress-

ing myself and wanting a band,¹ I found all my bands that were newly made clean so ill smoothed that I crumpled them, and flung them all on the ground, and was angry with Jane, which made the poor girl mighty sad, so that I was troubled for it afterwards. At noon I went forth, and by coach to Guild Hall; and meeting with Mr. Proby (Sir R. Ford's son), and Lieutenant-Colonel Baron, a City commander, we went up and down to see the tables; where under every salt there was a bill of fare, and at the end of the table the persons proper for the table. Many were the tables, but none in the Hall but the Mayor's and the Lords of the Privy Council that had napkins² or knives, which was very strange. We went into the Buttry, and there stayed and talked, and then into the Hall again: and there wine was offered and they drunk, I only drinking some hypocras,³

¹ The *band* succeeded the ruff as the ordinary civil costume. The clergy and lawyers, who now retain bands, formerly wore ruffs. The band was a wide stiff collar, standing out horizontally and squarely, starched, and sometimes edged with lace. Pepys evidently did not possess

"A Chrysostom to *smoothe* his band in." (M. B.)

² As the practice of eating with forks gradually was introduced from Italy into England, napkins were not so generally used, but considered more as an ornament than a necessary.

"The laudable use of forks,
Brought into custom here, as they are in Italy,
To the sparing of *napkins*."

BEN JONSON, *The Devil is an Ass*, act v. sc. 3.

The guests probably brought their own knife and fork with them in a case. (M. B.)

³ A drink, composed usually of red wine, but sometimes white, with the addition of sugar and spices.

"P. Stay; what's best to drink a mornings?

R. *Ipcras*, sir, for my mistress if I fetch it, is most dear to her."
Old Play.

Sir Walter Scott ("Quarterly Review," No. lxvi.) says, after quoting this passage of Pepys, "Assuredly his pieces of bacchanalian casuistry can only be matched by that of Fielding's chaplain of

which do not break my vowes, it being, to the best of my present judgement, only a mixed compound drink, and not any wine. If I am mistaken, God forgive me! but I hope and do think I am not. By and by met with Creed; and we, with the others, went within the several Courts, and there saw the tables prepared for the Ladies and Judges and Bishoppes: all great sign of a great dinner to come. By and by about one o'clock, before the Lord Mayor came, come into the Hall, from the room where they were first led into, the Lord Chancellor (Archbishopp before him), with the Lords of the Council, and other Bishoppes, and they to dinner. Anon comes the Lord Mayor, who went up to the lords, and then to the other tables to bid wellcome; and so all to dinner. I sat near Proby, Baron, and Creed at the Merchant Strangers' table; where ten good dishes to a messe, with plenty of wine of all sorts, of which I drunk none; but it was very displeasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthen pitchers and wooden dishes.¹ It happened that after the lords had half dined, came the French Ambassador, up to the lords' table, where he was to have sat; but finding the table set, he would not sit down nor dine with the Lord Mayor, who was not yet come, nor have a table to himself, which was offered; but in a discontent went away again.² After I had dined, I and Creed rose and went up and down the house, and up to the ladys' room, and there stayed gazing upon them. But though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there; which was very strange. I

Newgate, who preferred punch to wine, because the former was a liquor nowhere spoken against in Scripture." (M. B.)

¹ The City plate was probably melted during the Civil War. (M. B.)

² Vide in the Appendix, the Ambassador's account of the affront which he received, and the reparation afterwards made to him.

expected musique, but there was none but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me. The dinner, it seems, is made by the Mayor and two Sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one half, and they the other. And the whole, Proby says, is reckoned to come to about 7 or 800*l.* at most. Being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, Creed and I went away, and took coach and through Cheapside, and there saw the pageants, which were very silly, and thence to the Temple, where meeting Greateorex, he and we to Hercules Pillars, there to show me the manner of his going about of draining of fenns, which I desired much to know, but it did not appear very satisfactory to me, as he discoursed it, and I doubt he will faile in it. To my office a little, to set down my Journall, and so home late to supper and to bed. The Queene mends apace, they say ; but yet talks idle still.

30th. To dinner upon a good dish of stewed beef, then by coach with my wife to the New Exchange, and there bought several things, and then back, calling at my periwig-makers, and there showed my wife the periwig made for me, and she likes it very well, and so to my brother's, and to buy a pair of boddice for her, and so home. After a little discourse with my wife upon arithmetique, to bed.

31st. Up and to the office, at noon home to dinner, where Creed came and dined with me, and after dinner he and I upstairs, and I showed him my velvet cloake and other things of clothes, that I have lately bought, which he likes very well, and I took his opinion as to some things of clothes, which I purpose to wear, being resolved to go a little handsomer than I have hitherto. Thence to the office, where busy till night, and then to prepare my monthly account and to my great sorrow find myself 43*l.* worse than I was the last month, which was then 760*l.* and now it

is but 717^l. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife; viz. for her about 12^l. and for myself 55^l., or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet cloake, two new cloth suits, black, plain both; a new shagg gowne, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved henceforward to go like myself. And also two periwiggs, one whereof costs me 3^l. and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing. So that I hope I shall not need now to lay out more money a great while, I having laid out in clothes for myself and wife, and for her closett and other things without, these two months, this and the last, besides household expenses of victuals, &c., above 110^l. But I hope I shall with more comfort labour to get more, and with better successe than when, for want of clothes, I was forced to sneake like a beggar.

Thus I end this month. My greatest trouble and my wife's is our family, mighty out of order by this fellow Will's corrupting our mayds by his idle talke and carriage, which we are going to remove by hastening him out of the house, and I am to give him 20^l. per annum toward his maintenance. The Queene continues light-headed, but in hopes to recover. The plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fears of it here, which God defend.¹ The Turke goes on mightily in the Emperor's dominions, and the Princes cannot agree among themselves how to go against him. Myself in pretty good health now, after being ill this month for a week together. My father has been very ill in the country, but I hope better again now. I am lately come to a conclusion with Tom Trice to pay him 100^l., which is a great deale of money, but I hope it will save a great deale more. But thus everything lessens, which I have and am

¹ Forbid. From the French "defendre." (M. B.)

likely to have, and therefore I must look about me to get something more than just my salary, or else I may resolve to live well and die a beggar.

November 1st (Lord's day). This morning my brother's man brought me a new black baize waist-coate, faced with silke, which I put on from this day, laying by half-shirts for this winter. He brought me also my new gowne of purple shagg, trimmed with gold, very handsome; also as a gift from my brother, a velvet hat, very fine to ride in, and the fashion, which pleases me very well, to which end, I believe, he sent it me, for he knows I had lately been angry with him. Up and to church with my wife, and at noon dined at home alone, a good calve's head boiled and dumplings, an excellent dinner methought it was. Then to church again, whither Sir W. Pen came, the first time he has been at church these several months, he having been sicke all the while. Home and to my office, where I taught my wife some part of subtraction. After supper another bout at arithmetique with my wife, and so to prayers, and then to read my vowes, and to bed.

2d. Up, and by coach to White Hall, and there in the long matted Gallery I find Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Batten; and by and by comes the King to walk there with three or four with him; and soon as he saw us, says he, "Here is the Navy Office," and there walked twenty turns the length of the gallery, talking, methought, but ordinary talke. By and by came the Duke, and he walked, and at last they went into the Duke's lodgings. The King staid so long that we could not discourse with the Duke, and so we parted. I heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a perriwigg; and they say the King also will. I never till this day observed that the King is mighty gray. Thence, meeting with Creed, walked with him to Westminster Hall,

and thence by coach took up Mrs. Hunt, and we light at the 'Change, and sent her to my house. So home, and carried a barrel of oysters with us, and after a good dinner left Mrs. Hunt and my wife making marmalett of quinces, and Creed and I to the periwig makers. Home, and there found them busy still, and I up to my vyall. Anon, the comfiture being well done, my wife and I took Mrs. Hunt, and did give her a box of sugar and a haunch of venison given me the other day. After supper there happening some discourse where my wife thought she had taken Jane in a lie, she told me of it mighty triumphantly, but I, not seeing reason to conclude it a lie, was vexed, and my wife and I to very high words, wherein I up to my chamber, and she by and by followed me up, and to very bad words from her to me, calling me perfidious and man of no conscience, whatever I pretend to, and I know not what, which troubled me mightily, and though I would allow something to her passion, yet I see again and again that she spoke but somewhat of what she had in her heart. But I tempered myself very well, so as that though we went to bed with discontent she yielded to me and began to be fond, so that being willing myself to peace, we did before we sleep become very good friends, and so with good hearts and joy to rest.

3rd. At noon to the coffee-house, and there heard a long and most passionate discourse between two doctors of physique, of which one was Dr. Allen, whom I knew at Cambridge, and a couple of apothecarys; these maintaining chymistry against their Galenicall physique; and the truth is, one of the apothecarys whom they charged most, did speak very prettily, that is, his language and sense good, though perhaps he might not be so knowing a physician as to offer to contest with them. At last they came to some cooler terms, and broke up. I home, and by

and by comes Chapman, the periwig-maker, and upon my liking it, without more ado I went up, and there he cut off my haire, which went a little to my heart at present to part with it; but, it being over, and my periwig on, I paid him 3*l*. for it; and away went he with my owne haire to make up another of, and I by and by went abroad, after I had caused all my mayds to look upon it; and they conclude it do become me; though Jane was mightily troubled for my parting of my own haire, and so was Besse. I went to Sir W. Pen, who observed mightily, and discoursed much upon my cutting off my haire, as he do of everything that concerns me, but it is over, and so I perceive after a day or two it will be no great matter.

4th. To my office, shewing myself to Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes, and no great matter made of my periwig, as I was afeard there would be. Home to dinner, and very pleasant with my wife, who is this day also herself making of marmalett of quince, which she now do very well. The Queene is in a great way to recovery. This noon came John Angier to me in a pickle, I was sad to see him, desiring my good word for him to go a trooper to Tangier, but I did schoole him and sent him away with good advice, but no present encouragement. Presently after I had a letter from his poor father at Cambridge, who is broke, it seems, and desires me to get him a protection, or a place of employment; but, poor man, I doubt I can helpe him, but will endeavour it.

5th. At noon by agreement to the Miter to dinner upon T. Trice's 40*s*. Here was a very poor dinner and great company. All our lawyers on both sides, and several friends of his and some of mine brought by him. Here I was among a sorry company without any content or pleasure, and at the last the reckoning

coming to above 40s. by 15s., he would have me pay the 10s. and he would pay the 5s., which was so poor that I was ashamed of it, and did it only to save contending with him.

6th. To the coffee-house, and among other things heard Sir John Cutler say, that of his owne experience in time of thunder, so many barrels of beer as have a piece of iron laid upon them will not be soured, and the others will. After dinner came in Captain Grove, and he and I alone to talk of many things, and among others of the fishery, in which he gives me such hopes that I resolved this afternoon to go and consult my Lord Sandwich about it. To White Hall, where my Lord met me very fortunately, and wondered first to see me in my perruque, and I am glad it is over. He do give me the best advice he can, and telling me how there are some projectors, by name Sir Edward Ford, who would have the making of farthings, and out of that give so much to the King for the maintenance of the fishery; but my Lord do not like that, and so upon my desire he promises me when it is seasonable to bring me into the commission with others, if any of them take, and I perceive he and Mr. Coventry are resolved to follow it hard. After that we begun to talk of the Court, and he tells me how Mr. Edward Montagu begins to show respect to him again after his endeavouring to bespatter him all was possible; but he is resolved never to admit him into his friendship again. He tells me how he and Sir H. Bennet, the Duke of Buckingham and his Duchesse, was of a committee with somebody else for the getting of Mrs. Stewart for the King; but that she proves a cunning slut, and is advised at Somerset House by the Queene-Mother, and by her mother, and so all the plot is spoiled and the whole committee broke. Mr. Montagu and the Duke of Buckingham fallen a-pieces,

the Duchesse going to a nunnery; and so Montagu begins to enter friendship with my Lord, and to attend the Chancellor whom he had deserted. My Lord tells me that Mr. Montagu, among other things, did endeavour to represent him to the Chancellor's sons as one that did desert their father in the business of my Lord of Bristoll; which is most false, being the only man that hath several times dined with him when no soul hath come to him, and went with him that very day home when the Earl impeached him in the Parliament House, and hath refused ever to pay a visit to my Lord of Bristoll, not so much as in return to a visit of his. So that the Chancellor and my Lord are well known and trusted one by another. But yet my Lord blames the Chancellor for desiring to have it put off to the next Session of Parliament, contrary to my Lord Treasurer's advice, to whom he swore he would not do it: and, perhaps, my Lord Chancellor, for ought I see by my Lord's discourse, may suffer by it when the Parliament comes to sit. My Lord tells me that he observes the Duke of York do follow and understand business very well, and is mightily improved thereby.

7th. To the office where we sat all the morning, and Sir W. Pen and I had a word or two, where by opposing him in not being willing to excuse a mulct put upon the purser of the James, absent from duty, he says, by his business and order, he was mighty angry, and went out of the office like an asse discontented. At which I am never a whit sorry; I would not have him think that I dare not oppose him, where I see reason and cause for it. This day Captain Taylor brought me a piece of plate, a little small state dish, he expecting that I should get him some allowance for demorage of his ship "William," kept long at Tangier, which I shall and may justly do.

8th. To church, where I found that my coming

in a perriwigg did not prove so strange as I was afeard it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me. Here an ordinary lazy sermon of Mr. Mill's, and then home to dinner, and there Tom came and dined with us; and after dinner to talk about a new black suit that I have a making, and so at church time to church again, where the Scott preached, and I slept most of the time. Thence home, and I spent most of the evening upon "Fuller's Church History" and "Barckly's Argeny,"¹ and so after supper to prayers and to bed.

9th. To the Duke, where, when we came into his closett, he told us that Mr. Pepys was so altered with his new perriwigg that he did not know him. So to our discourse, and among and above other things we were taken up in talking upon Sir J. Lawson's coming home, he being come to Portsmouth; and Captain Berkely is come to towne with a letter from the Duana of Algier to the King, wherein they do demand again the searching of our ships and taking out of strangers, and their goods; and that what English ships are taken without the Duke's pass they will detain (though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace) as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Seignor's confirmation of the Peace from Constantinople by Captain Berkely; so that there is no command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his will by a fleete of ships; and it is thought best and speediest to send these very ships that are now come home, five sail of good ships, back again after

¹ Barclay's "Argenis," a kind of romance in the style of "Petronius and Apuleius," in which he describes the manner of a court, &c. (M. B.)

cleaning, victualling, and paying them. But it is a pleasant thing to think how their Basha, Shavan Aga, did tear his hair to see the soldiers order things thus; for (just like his late predecessor) when they see the evil of war with England, then for certain they complain to the Grand Seigneur of him, and cut his head off: this he is sure of, and knows as certain. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I met with Mr. Pierce, surgeon; and among other things he asked me seriously whether I knew anything of my Lord's being out of favour with the King; and told me, that for certain the King do take mighty notice of my Lord's living obscurely in a corner not like himself, and becoming the honour that he is come to. I was sorry to hear, and the truth is, from my Lord's discourse among his people (which I am told) of the uncertainty of princes' favours, and his melancholy keeping from Court, I am doubtful of some such thing; but I seemed wholly strange to him in it, but will make my use of it. He told me also how loose the Court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the King is now become besotted upon Mrs. Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an houre together kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as now and then he goes to have a chat with her as he believes; but with no such fondness as he used to do. But yet it is thought that this new wench is so subtle, that it is verily thought if the Queene had died, he would have married her. The Duke of Monmouth is to have part of the Cockpitt new built for lodgings for him, and they say to be made Captain of the Guards in the room of my Lord Gerard. Having thus talked with him, there comes into the Hall Creed

and Ned Pickering, and after a turne or two with them, it being noon, I walked with them two to the King's Head ordinary, and there we dined; little discourse but what was common, only that the Duke of Yorke is a very desperate huntsman. Will brought me word that his uncle Blackburne was ready to speak with me. So I went to him, and he and I to a taverne hard by, and there I begun to speak to Will friendlily, advising him how to carry himself now he is going from under my roof, without any reflections upon the occasion from whence his removal arose. This his uncle seconded, and after laying down to him his duty to me, and what I expect of him, in a discourse of about a quarter of an houre or more, we agreed upon his going this week, and so dismissed him, and Mr. Blackburne and I fell to talk of many things, wherein he was very open to me: first, in that of religion, he makes it great matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience; and imputes the losse of Hungary to the Turke from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread: and told me how highly the present clergy carry themselves every where, so as that they are hated and laughed at by every body; among other things, for their excommunications, which they send upon the least occasions almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgement, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the

gentry and ordinary persons of the parish. He do tell me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man that hath betrayed every body, and the King also ; who, as he thinks, and his party, and so I have heard other good friends of the King say, it might have been better for the King to have had his hands a little bound for the present, than be forced to bring such a crew of poor people about him, and be liable to satisfy the demands of every one of them. He told me that to his knowledge (being present at every meeting at the Treaty at the Isle of Wight), that the old King did confess himself over-ruled and convinced in his judgement against the Bishoppes, and would have suffered and did agree to exclude the service out of the churches, nay his own chappell ; and that he did always say, that this he did not by force, for that he would never abate one inch by any vyolence ; but what he did was out of his reason and judgement. He tells me that the King by name, with all his dignities, is prayed for by them that they call Fanatiques, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better : and that, let the King think what he will, it is them that must helpe him in the day of warr. For as they are the most, so generally they are the most substantiall sort of people, and the soberest ; and did desire me to observe it to my Lord Sandwich, among other things, that of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets ; but what ? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker ; the lieutenant, a baker ; this a brewer ; that a haberdasher ; this common soldier, a porter ; and every man in his apron and frock, &c. as if they never had done anything else : whereas the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing, and stealing ; running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to

carry away something; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other; and concludes (and I think with some reason,) that the spirits of the old parliament soldiers are so quiett and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier. And then to the publique management of business: it is done, as he observes, so loosely and so carelessly, that the kingdom can never be happy with it, every man looking after himself, and his owne lust and luxury; and that half of what money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered. And to the purpose he told me how the Bellamys (who had some of the Northern counties assigned them for their debt for the petty warrant victualling) have often complained to him that they cannot get it collected, for that nobody minds, or, if they do, they won't pay it in. Whereas (which is a very remarkable thing,) he hath been told by some of the Treasurers at Warr here of late, to whom the most of the 120,000*l.* monthly was paid, that for most months the payments were gathered so dully, that they seldom had so much or more than 40*s.*, or the like, short in the whole collection; whereas now the very Commissioners for Assessments and other publique payments are such persons, and those that they choose in the country so like themselves, that from top to bottom there is not a man carefull of any thing, or if he be, he is not solvent; that what between the beggar and the knave, the King is abused the best part of all his revenue. We then talked of the Navy, and of Sir W. Pen, of whose rise to be a general I had a mind to be informed. He told me he was always a conceited man, and one that would put the best side outward, but that it was his pretence of sanctity that brought him into

play. Lawson, and Portman, and the fifth-monarchy men, among whom he was a great brother, importuned that he might be general; and it was pleasant to see how Blackburne himself did act it, how when the Commissioners of the Admiralty would enquire of the captains and admirals of such and such men, how they would with a sigh and casting up the eyes say, "Such a man fears the Lord," or, "I hope such a man hath the Spirit of God," and such things as that. But he tells me that there was a cruel articling against Pen after one fight, for cowardice, in putting himself within a coyle of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself: and by great friends did it, not without remains of guilt, but that his brethren had a mind to pass it by, and Sir H. Vane did advise him to search his heart, and see whether this fault or a greater sin was not the occasion of this so great tryall. And he tells me, that what Pen gives out about Cromwell's sending and entreating him to go to Jamaica, is very false; he knows the contrary: besides, the Protector never was a man that needed to send for any man, specially such a one as he, twice. He tells me that the business of Jamaica did miscarry absolutely by his pride, and that when he was in the Tower he would cry like a child. This he says of his own personal knowledge, and lastly tells me that just upon the turne, when Monk was come from the North to the City, and did begin to think of bringing in the King, Pen was then turned Quaker. This he is most certain of. He tells me that Lawson was never counted any thing but only a seaman, and a stout man, but a false man, and that now he appears the greatest hypocrite in the world. And Pen the same. He tells me that it is much talked of, that the King intends to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth; and that neither he, nor his friends of his persuasion,

have any hopes of getting their consciences at liberty but by God Almighty's turning of the King's heart, which they expect, and are resolved to live and die in quiett hopes of it; but never to repine, or act any thing more than by prayers towards it. And that not only himself but all of them have, and are willing at any time to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. Blackburne observed further to me, some certain notice that he had of the present plot so much talked of; that he was told by Mr. Rushworth,¹ how one Captain Oates,² a great discoverer, did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot, and that one of his agents met with one that would not listen to him, nor conceal what he had offered him, but so detected the trapan. This, he says, is most true. He also, among other instances how the King is served, did much insist upon the cowardice and corruption of the King's guards and militia, which to be sure will fail the King, as they have done already, when there will be occasion for them.

10th. To the office and there late setting down yesterday's remarkable discourses. The Queene, I hear, is now very well again, and that she hath bespoke herself a new gowne.

11th. At noon to the Coffee-house, where with Dr. Allen some good discourse about physique and chymistry. And among other things, I telling him what Dribble the German Doctor do offer of an instrument 'to sink ships; he tells me that which is more strange, that something made of gold, which they call in chymistry *Aurum Fulminans*, a grain, I think he said, of it put into a silver spoon and fired, will give a blow like a musquett, and strike a hole

¹ John Rushworth, Clerk assistant to the House of Commons, and author of the Historical Collections. Ob. 1690.

² Titus Oates.

through the spoon downward, without the least force upward ; and this he can make a cheaper experiment of, he says, with iron prepared.

12th. To the office, where Sir W. Pen, like a coxcomb, was so ready to cross me in a motion I made unawares for the entering a man at Chatham into the works, wherein I was vexed to see his spleene, but glad to understand it, and that it was in no greater a matter, I being not at all concerned here. After dinner Mr. Moore and I discoursing of my Lord's negligence in attendance at Court, and the discourse the world makes of it, I resolved and took coach to his lodgings, thinking to speak with my Lord about it without more ado. Here I met Mr. Howe, and he and I largely about it, and he very soberly acquainted me how things are with my Lord, that my Lord do not do anything like himself, but follows his folly, and spends his time either at cards at Court with the ladies, when he is there at all, or else at Chelsy with the slut to his great disgrace, and indeed I do see and believe that my Lord do apprehend that he do grow less too at Court. Anon my Lord do come in, and I begun to fall in discourse with him, but my heart did misgive me that my Lord would not take it well, and then found him not in a humour to talk, and so after a few ordinary words, my Lord not talking in the manner as he uses to do, I took leave, and spent some time with W. Howe again, and told him how I could not do what I had so great a mind and resolution to do, but that I thought it would be as well to do it in writing, which he approves of, and so I took leave of him, and by coach home, my mind being full of it, and in pain concerning it.

13th. After dinner came my perriwigg-maker, and brings me a second periwigg, made of my own haire, which comes to 21s. 6d. more than the worth of my

own haire, so that they both come to 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, which he sayth will serve me two years, but I fear it. He being gone, I to my office, and put on my new shagg purple gowne, with gold buttons and loop lace. Here I staid making an end of a troublesome letter, but to my advantage, against Sir W. Batten, giving Sir G. Carteret an account of our late great contract with Sir W. Warren for masts, wherein I am sure I did the King 600*l.* service.

14th. After dinner Will told me if I pleased he was ready to remove his things, and so before my wife I did give him good counsel, and that his going should not abate my kindnesse for him, if he carried himself well, and so bid "God bless him," and left him to remove his things, the poor lad weeping, but I am apt to think matters will be the better both for him and us. In the evening Mr. Moore came to tell me that he had no opportunity of speaking his mind to my Lord yesterday, and so I am resolved to write to him very suddenly.

15th (Lord's day). In the afternoon drew up a letter to my Lord, stating to him what the world talks concerning him, and leaving it to him and myself to be thought of by him as he pleases, but I have done but my duty in it. I wait Mr. Moore's coming for his advice about sending it. This day being our Queene's birthday, the guns of the Tower went all off; and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bonfires to be made in every streete, which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded. After a good supper with my wife, and hearing of the mayds read in the Bible, we to prayers, and to bed.

16th. By coach to White Hall, and there with the Duke where Mr. Coventry did a second time go to vindicate himself against reports, and prove by

many testimonies that he brought that he did nothing but what had been done by the Lord Admiral's Secretarys heretofore, though he do not approve of it, nor, since he had any rule from the Duke hath he exceeded what he is there directed to take.

17th. Mr. Deane of Woolwich came to me, and I did tell him that I did not fear but he would in a little time be master of his enemies as much as they think to master him, and so he did tell me many instances of the abominable dealings of Mr. Pett of Woolwich towards him. With Mr. Moore to my office, and there I read to him the letter I have wrote to send to my Lord, which Mr. Moore do conclude so well drawn that he would not have me by any means to neglect sending it, assuring me in the best of his judgment that it cannot but endear me to my Lord instead of what I fear of getting his offence. So home, Mr. Holliard being come to my wife. I had great discourse with him about my disease. He tells me again that I must eat in a morning some loosening gruel, and at night roasted apples, that I must drink now and then ale with my wine, and eat bread and butter and honey, and rye bread if I can endure it, it being loosening.

18th. By water to Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I have not been a very great while, and there paid off the Milford in very good order, and all respect showed me in the office as much as there used to be to any of the rest or the whole board. That done at noon I took Captain Terne, and there coming in by chance Captain Berkeley, him also to dinner with me to the Globe. Captain Berkeley, who was lately come from Algier, did give us a good account of the place, and how the Basha there do live like a prisoner, being at the mercy of the soldiers and officers, so that there is nothing but a great confusion there. I walked home again read-

ing of a little book of new poems of Cowley's, given me by his brother. Abraham do lie, it seems, very sicke still, but like to recover. At my office till late, and then came Mr. Holliard so full of discourse and Latin that I think he hath got a cupp, but I do not know ; but full of talke he is in defence of Calvin and Luther. This morning I sent Will with my great letter of reproof to my Lord Sandwich, who did give it into his owne hand. I pray God give a blessing to it, but confess I am afeard what the consequence may be to me of good or bad, which is according to the ingenuity that he do receive it with. However, I am satisfied that it will do him good, and that he needs it.

MY LORD,

I do verily hope that neither the manner nor matter of this advice will be condemned by your Lordship, when for my defence in the first I shall alledge my double attempt, since your return from Hinchinbroke, of doing it personally, in both of which your Lordship's occasions, no doubtfulness of mine, prevented me, and that being now fearful of a sudden summons to Portsmouth, for the discharge of some ships there, I judge it very unbecoming the duty which every bit of bread I eat tells me I owe to your Lordship to expose the safety of your honour to the uncertainty of my return. For the matter, my Lord, it is such as could I in any measure think safe to conceal from, or likely to be discovered to you by any other hand, I should not have dared so far to owne what from my heart I believe is false, as to make myself but the relater of others' discourse ; but, sir, your Lordship's honour being such as I ought to value it to be, and finding both in city and court that discourses pass to your prejudice, too generally for mine or any man's controllings but

your Lordship's, I shall, my Lord, without the least greatening or lessening the matter, do my duty in laying it shortly before you.

People of all conditions, my Lord, raise matter of wonder from your Lordship's so little appearance at Court: some concluding thence their disfavour thereby, to which purpose I have had questions asked me, and endeavouring to put off such insinuations by asserting the contrary, they have replied, that your Lordship's living so beneath your quality, out of the way, and declining of Court attendance, hath been more than once discoursed about the King. Others, my Lord, when the chief ministers of State, and those most active of the Council have been reckoned up, wherein your Lordship never used to want an eminent place, have said, touching your Lordship, that now your turn was served, and the King had given you a good estate, you left him to stand or fall as he would, and, particularly in that of the Navy, have enlarged upon your letting fall all service there.

Another sort, and those the most, insist upon the bad report of the house wherein your Lordship, now observed in perfect health again, continues to sojourn, and by name have charged one of the daughters for a common courtizan, alledging both places and persons where and with whom she hath been too well known, and how much her wantonnesse occasions, though unjustly, scandal to your Lordship, and that as well to gratifying of some enemies as to the wounding of more friends I am not able to tell.

Lastly, my Lord, I find a general coldness in all persons towards your Lordship, such as, from my first dependance on you, I never yet knew, wherein I shall not offer to interpose any thoughts or advice of mine, well knowing your Lordship needs not any. But with a most faithful assurance that no person nor

papers under Heaven is privy to what I here write, besides myself and this, which I shall be careful to have put into your owne hands, I rest confident of your Lordship's just construction of my dutifull intents herein, and in all humility take leave, may it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
S. P.

The foregoing letter was sealed up, and enclosed in this that follows :—

MY LORD,

If this finds your Lordship either not alone, or not at leisure, I beg the suspending your opening of the enclosed till you shall have both, the matter very well bearing such a delay, and in all humility remain, may it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
S. P.

My servant hath my directions to put this into your Lordship's owne hand, but not to stay for any answer.

19th. With Sir G. Carteret to my Lord Treasurer,¹ to discourse with him about Mr. Gauden's having of money, and to offer to him whether it would not be necessary, Mr. Gauden's credit being so low as it is, to take security of him if he demands any great sum, such as 20,000*l.*, which now ought to be paid him upon his next year's declaration. Which is a sad thing, that being reduced to this by us, we should be the first to doubt his credit; but so it is. However, it will be managed with great tenderness to him. My Lord Treasurer we found in his bed-chamber, being laid up of the goute. I find him a very ready man, and certainly a brave servant to the King: he spoke so quick and sensibly of the King's charge.

¹ The Earl of Southampton. (M. B.)

Nothing displeased me in him but his long nails, which he lets grow upon a pretty thick white short hand, that it troubled me to see them. In our way Sir G. Carteret told me there is no such thing likely yet as a Dutch war, neither they nor we being in condition for it, though it will come certainly to that in some time, our interests lying the same way, that is to say, in trade. But not yet. Thence to the Temple, and there visited my cozen Roger Pepys, and his brother Dr. John, a couple, methinks, of very ordinary men, and thence to speak with Mr. Moore, and met him by the way, who tells me, to my great content, that he believes my letter to my Lord Sandwich hath wrought well upon him, and that he will look after himself and his business upon it, for he begins already to do so. But I dare not conclude anything till I see him, which shall be to-morrow morning, that I may be out of my pain to know how he takes it of me.

20th. Up, and as soon as I could to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he was gone out before, and so I am defeated of my expectation of being eased one way or other in the business of my Lord. But I went up to Mr. Howe, who I saw this day the first time in a periwig, which becomes him very well. He tells me that my Lord is of a sudden much changed, and he do believe that he do take my letter well. However, we do both bless God that it hath so good an effect upon him. Thence I home again. My wife tells me that she and her brother have had a great falling out to-night, he taking upon him to challenge great obligation upon her, and taxing her for not being so as she ought to be to her friends, and that she can do more with me than she pretends, and I know not what, but God be thanked she cannot. A great talke there is to-day of a crush between some of the Fanatiques up in arms, and the

King's men in the North ; but whether true I know not yet.

21st. At noon I receive a letter from Mr. Creed, with a token, viz., a very noble parti-coloured Indian gowne for my wife. The letter is oddly writ, overprizing his present, and little owning any past service of mine, but that this was his genuine respects, and I know not what. I confess I had expectations of a better account from him of my service about his accounts, and so give his boy 12*l.*, and sent it back again, and after having been at the pay of a ship this afternoon at the Treasury, I went by coach to Ludgate, and, by pricing several there, I guess this gowne may be worth about 12*l.* or 15*l.* But, however, I expect at least 50*l.* of him. So in the evening I wrote him a letter telling him clearly my mind, and home to supper and to bed, my mind being pretty well at ease from my letter to Creed, and more for my receipt this afternoon of 17*l.* at the Treasury, for the 17*l.* paid a year since to the carver for his work at my house, which I did intend to have paid myself, but, finding others to do it, I thought it not amisse to get it too, but I am afeard that we may hear of it to our greater prejudices hereafter.

22nd (Lord's day). I walked as far as the Temple, and there took coach, and to my Lord's lodgings, whom I found ready to go to chappell ; but I coming, he begun, with a very serious countenance, to tell me that he had received my late letter, wherein first he took notice of my care of him and his honour, and did give me thanks for that part of it where I say that from my heart I believe the contrary of what I do there relate to be the discourse of others ; but since I intended it not a reproach, but matter of information, and for him to make a judgment of it for his practice, it was necessary for me to tell him the persons of whom I have gathered the several parti-

culars which I there insist on. I would have made excuses in it; but, seeing him so earnest in it, I found myself forced to it, and so did tell him Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, in that of his Lordship's living being discoursed of at Court; a mayde-servant that I kept, that lived at Chelsy school; and also Mr. Pickering, about the report touching the young woman; and also Mr. Hunt, in Axe Yard, near whom she lodged. I told him the whole city do discourse concerning his neglect of business; and so I many times asserting my dutifull intention in all this, and he owning his accepting of it as such. That that troubled me most in particular is, that he did there assert the civility of the people of the house, and the young gentlewoman, for whose reproach he was sorry. His saying that he was resolved how to live, and that though he was taking a house, meaning to live in another manner, yet it was not to please any people, or to stop report, but to please himself, though this I do believe he might say that he might not seem to me to be so much wrought upon by what I have writ; and lastly, and most of all, when I spoke of the tenderness that I have used in declaring this to him, there being nobody privy to it, he told me that I must give him leave to except one. I told him that possibly somebody might know of some thoughts of mine, I having borrowed some intelligence in this matter from them, but nobody could say they knew of the thing itself what I writ. This, I confess, however, do trouble me, for that he seemed to speak it as a quick retort, and it must sure be Will. Howe, who did not see anything of what I writ, though I told him indeed that I would write; but in this, I think, there is no great hurt. I find him, though he cannot but owne his opinion of my good intentions, and so he did again and again profess it, that he is troubled in his mind at it; and I confess, I think I

may have done myself an injury for his good, which, were it to do again, and that I believed he would take it no better, I think I should sit quietly without taking any notice of it, for I doubt there is no medium between his taking it very well or very ill. I could not forbear weeping before him at the latter end, which, since, I am ashamed of, though I cannot see what he can take it to proceed from but my tenderness and good will to him. After this discourse was ended, he began to talk very cheerfully of other things, and I walked with him to White Hall, and we discoursed of the pictures in the gallery, which, it may be, he might do out of policy, that the boy might not see any strangeness in him; but I rather think that his mind was somewhat eased, and hope that he will be to me as he was before. But, however, I doubt not when he sees that I follow my business, and become an honour to him, and not to be like to need him, or to be a burden to him, and rather able to serve him than to need him, and if he do continue to follow business, and so come to his right witts again, I do not doubt but he will then consider my faithfulness to him, and esteem me as he ought. At chappell I had room in the Privy Seale pew with other gentlemen, and there heard Dr. Killigrew¹ preach. The anthem was good after sermon, being the fifty-first psalme, made for five voices by one of Captn. Cooke's boys, a pretty boy. And they say there are four or five of them that can do as much. And here I first perceived that the King is a little musically, and kept good time with his hand all along the anthem. I met Mr. Povy, who tells me how Tangier had like to have been betrayed, and that

¹ Henry, youngest son of Sir Robert Killigrew, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of the Savoy, and author of some plays and sermons. His daughter Anne was the celebrated poetess.

one of the King's officers is come, to whom 8,000 pieces of eight were offered for his part. Hence I to the King's Head ordinary, and there dined, good and much company, and a good dinner: most of their discourse was about hunting, in a dialect I understand very little.

23rd. Up and to Alderman Backewell's, where Sir W. Rider, by appointment, met us to consult about the insuring of our hempe ship from Archangell, in which we are all much concerned, by my Lord Treasurer's command. Thence to St. Paul's Church-yarde, and there bespoke "Rushworth's Collections," and "Scobell's Acts of the Long Parliament," &c., which I will make the King pay for as to the office, and so I do not breake my vowe at all. Back to the coffee-house, and then to the 'Change, where Sir W. Rider and I did bid 15 per cent., and nobody will take it under 20 per cent., and the lowest was 15 per cent. premium, and 15 more to be abated in case of losse, which we did not think fit without order to give, and so we parted, and I home to a speedy, though too good a dinner to eat alone, viz., a good goose and a rare piece of roast beef. With Alderman Backewell talking of the new money, which he says will never be counterfeited, he believes; but it is deadly inconvenient for telling, it is so thick, and the edges are made to turn up. I found him as full of business, and, to speak the truth, he is a very painfull¹ man, and ever was, and now-a-days is well paid for it.

24th. At noon to the 'Change, where everybody joyed me in our hempe ship's coming safe, and it seems one man, Middleburgh, did give 20 per cent. in gold last night, three or four minutes before the newes came of her being safe. This day our tryall

¹ Painstaking. (M. B.)

was with Field, and I hear that they have given him 20*l.* damage more, which is a strange thing, but yet not so much as formerly, nor as I was afeard of.

25th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and there I did present him Mr. Barlow's "*Terella*,"¹ with which he was very much pleased, and he did show me great kindnesse, and by other discourse I have reason to think that he is not at all, as I feared he would be, discontented against me. To White Hall, to the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, and there advised about insuring the hempe ship at 1½ per cent., notwithstanding her being come to Newcastle. In the evening comes Sir W. Warren, and he and I had admirable discourse. He advised me in things I desired about, bummary, and other ways of putting out money as in parts of ships, how dangerous they are, and lastly fell to talk of the Dutch management of the Navy, and I think will helpe me to some accounts of things of the Dutch Admiralty, which I am mighty desirous to know. He seemed to have been mighty privy with my Lord Albemarle in things before this great turn, and to the King's dallying with him and others for some years before, but I doubt all was not very true.

26th. The plague, it seems, grows more and more at Amsterdam; and we are going upon making of all ships coming from thence and Hambrough, or any other infected places, to perform their Quarantine (for thirty days as Sir Rd. Browne expressed it in the order of the Council, contrary to the import of the word, though in the general acceptation it signifies now the thing, not the time spent in doing it) in Holehaven, a thing never done by us before.

27th. My wife mightily pleased with my late discourse of getting a trip over to Calis, or some other

¹ See note, Oct. 2nd, 1663. (M. B.)

port of France, the next summer, in one of the yachts, and I believe I shall do it, and it makes good sport that my mayde Jane dares not go, and Besse is wild to go, and is mad for joy, but yet will be willing to stay if Jane hath a mind, which is the best temper in this and all other things that ever I knew in my life.

28th. I met with Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, who tells me for good newes that my Lord Sandwich is resolved to go no more to Chelsy, and told me he believed that I had been giving my Lord some counsel, which I neither denied nor affirmed. To Paul's Church Yarde, and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cry so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty. To-day for certain I am told how in Holland publickly they have pictured our King with reproach. One way is with his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty; another with two courtiers picking of his pockets; and a third, leading of two ladies, while others abuse him; which amounts to great contempt.

29th (Lord's day). This morning I put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlett ribbon, very neat, with my cloake lined with velvett, and a new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons¹ I bought a month ago. I to church alone, my wife not going, and there I found my Lady Batten in a velvet gowne, which vexed me that she should be in it before my wife, or that I am able to put her into one, but what cannot be, cannot be. However, when I came home I told my wife of it,

¹ See note, May 24th, 1660. (M. B.)

and to see my weaknesse, I could on the sudden have found my heart to have offered her one, but second thoughts put it by, and indeed it would undo me to think of doing as Sir W. Batten and his Lady do, who has a good estate besides his office. A good dinner we had of bœuf à la mode, but not roasted so well as my wife used to do. All the evening making up my accounts of this month, and blessed be God I have got up my crumb again to 770 £ , the most that ever I had yet, and good clothes a great many besides, which is a great mercy of God to me.

30th. Was called up by a messenger from Sir W. Pen to go with him by coach to White Hall. By the way he began to observe to me some unkind dealing of mine to him a weeke ago, like a coxcomb, when I answered him pretty freely that I would not think myself to owe any man the service to do this or that because they would have it so. At White Hall Sir W. Pen and I met the Duke in the matted Gallery, and there he discoursed with us; and by and by my Lord Sandwich came and stood by, and talked; but it being St. Andrew's, and a collar-day, he went to the Chappell, and we parted. To the Coffee-house, where I heard the best story of a cheate intended by a Master of a ship, who had borrowed twice his money upon the bottomary, and as much more insured upon his ship and goods as they were worth, and then would have cast her away upon the coast of France, and there left her, refusing any pilott which was offered him; and so the Governor of the place took her and sent her over hither to find an owner, and so the ship is come safe, and goods and all; they all worth 500 £ , and he had one way or other taken 3,000 £ . The cause is to be tried to-morrow at Guild-hall, where I intend to be. In the evening came W. Howe to see me, who tells me that my Lord hath been angry three or four days with him, would not

speak to him ; at last did, and charged him with having spoken to me about what he had observed concerning his Lordship, which W. Howe denying stoutly, he was well at ease, and continues very quiett, and is removing from Chelsy as fast as he can, but, methinks, by my Lord's looks upon me to-day, my Lord is not very well pleased, nor, it may be, will be a good while, which vexes me ; but I hope all will over in time, or else I am but ill rewarded for my good service.

December 1st. At noon I home to dinner with my poor wife, with whom now-a-days I enjoy great pleasure in her company and learning of Arithmetique. After dinner I to Guild Hall to hear a tryall at King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Hyde,¹ about the insurance of a ship, the same I mention in my yesterday's journall, where everything was proved how money was so taken up upon bottomary and insurance, and the ship left by the master and seamen upon rocks, where, when the sea fell at the ebb, she must perish. The master was offered helpe, and he did give the pilotts 20 sols to drink to bid them go about their business, saying that the rocks were old, but his ship was new, and that she was repaired for 6*l*. and less all the damage that she received, and is now brought by one, sent for on purpose by the insurers, into the Thames, with her cargo, vessels of tallow daubed over with butter, instead of all butter, the whole not worth above 500*l*., ship and all, and they had took up, as appeared, above 2,400*l*. He had given his men money to content them ; and yet, for all this, he did bring some of them to swear that it was very stormy weather, and they did all they could to save her, and that she was seven feete deep water in hold, and were fain to cut her main and

¹ Sir Robert Hyde, ob. 1665.

foremast, that the master was the last man that went out, and they were fain to force him out when she was ready to sink ; and her rudder broke off, and she was drawn into the harbour after they were gone, as wrecke all broken, and goods lost : that she could not be carried out again without new building, and many other things so contrary as is not imaginable more. There was all the great counsel in the kingdom in the cause ; but after one witnesse or two for the plaintiff, it was cried down as a most notorious cheate ; and so the jury, without going out, found it for the plaintiff. But it was pleasant to see what mad sort of testimonys the seamen did give, and could not be got to speak in order : and then their terms such as the Judge could not understand ; and to hear how sillily the Counsel and Judge would speak as to the terms necessary in the matter, would make one laugh : and above all, a Frenchman that was forced to speak in French, and took an English oathe he did not understand, and had an interpreter sworn to tell us what he said, which was the best testimony of all. I heard other causes, and saw the course of pleading, and learnt two things : one is that every man has a right of passage in, but not a title to, any highway. The next, that the Judge would not suffer Mr. Crow, who hath fined for Alderman, to be called so, but only Mister, and did eight or nine times fret at it, and stop every man that called him so.

3rd. Some one from Portsmouth, I know not who, has this day sent me a Runlett of Tent. This day Sir G. Carteret did tell us at the table, that the Navy (excepting what is due to the Yards upon the quarter now going on, and what few bills he hath not heard of) is quite out of debt ; which is extraordinary good newes, and upon the 'Change to hear how our credit goes as good as any merchant's upon the 'Change is

a joyfull thing to consider, which God continue ! I am sure the King will have the benefit of it, as well as we some peace and credit.

4th. By water cold and wet and windy to Woolwich, to a hemye ship there, and staid looking upon it and giving direction as to the getting it ashore, and so back again very cold, and so all the afternoon till night, and then home to keep my poor wife company.

5th. The whole board with myself along with Captain Allen to dinner, where he lives hard by in Mark Lane, where we had a very good plain dinner and good welcome. To my office till 9 or 10 at night, and so home to supper and to bed after some talke and Arithmetique with my poor wife, with whom now-a-days I live with great content, out of all trouble of mind by jealousy (for which God forgive me), or any other distraction more than my fear of my Lord Sandwich's displeasure.

6th (Lord's day). To church alone, and my wife and I all the afternoon at arithmetique, and she is come to do Addition, Subtraction, and Multiplicacion very well, and so I purpose not to trouble her yet with Division, but to begin with the Globes with her now. To my office, and spent an houre or two reading Rushworth, and so home, finding myself by cold to have some pain begin, which God defend should increase.

7th. At White Hall I hear and find that there was the last night the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river: all White Hall having been drowned. Anon we all met, and up with the Duke and did our business, and by and by my Lord of Sandwich came in, but whether it be my doubt or no I cannot tell, but I do not find that he made any sign of kindnesse or respect to me, which troubles me more than anything

in the world. I met Dr. Clerke, and did tell him my story of my health ; I then fell to other discourse of Dr. Knapp, who tells me he is the King's physician, and is become a solicitor for places for people, and I am mightily troubled with him. He tells me he is the most impudent fellow in the world, that gives himself out to be the King's physician, but it is not so, but he is cast out of the Court. From thence I may learn what impudence there is in the world, and how a man may be deceived in persons. At White Hall ; and anon the King and Duke and Duchesse came to dinner in the vane-roome, where I never saw them before ; but it seems since the tables are done, he dines there alltogether. The Queene is pretty well, and goes out of her chamber to her little chappell in the house. The King of France, they say, is hiring of sixty sail of ships of the Dutch, but it is not said for what design.

8th. To White Hall, where a great while walked with my Lord Teviott, whom I find a most carefull, thoughtfull, and cunning man, as I also ever took him to be. He is this day bringing in an account where he makes the King debtor to him 10,000*l*. already on the garrison of Tangier account ; but yet demands not ready money to pay it, but offers such ways of paying it out of the sale of old decayed provisions as will enrich him finely. Anon came my Lord Sandwich, and then we fell to our business about my Lord Teviott's accounts, wherein I took occasion to speak now and then, so as my Lord Sandwich did well seem to like of it, and after we were up did bid me good night in a tone that, methinks, he is not so displeased with me as I did doubt he is ; however, I will take a course to know whether he be or no.

9th. To the office, from thence I was called by and by to my wife. So to her, and found her in

great pain. Then abroad to look out a cradle to burn charcoal in at my office, and I found one to my mind in Newgate Market, and so meeting Hoby's man, I spoke to him to serve it into the office for the King. This day Mrs. Russell did give my wife a very fine St. George, in alabaster, which will set out my wife's closett mightily. This evening at the office, after I had wrote my day's passages, there came to me my cozen Angier of Cambridge, poor man, making his moan, and obtained of me that I would send his son to sea as a Reformado,² which I will take care to do. But to see how apt every man is to forget friendship in time of adversity. How glad was I when he was gone, for fear he should ask me to be bond for him, or to borrow money of me.

10th. To the office, where we sat all the morning, and I confess having received so lately a token from Mrs. Russell, I did find myself concerned for our not buying some tallow of her (which she bought on purpose yesterday most unadvisedly to her great losse upon confidence of putting it off to us). So hard it is for a man not to be warped against his duty and master's interest that receives any bribe or present, though not as a bribe, from any body else. But she must be contented, and I to do her a good when I can without wrong to the King's service. Then home to dinner, and did drink a glass of wine and beer, the more for joy that this is the shortest day¹ in the year, which is a pleasant consideration. Having a messenger from my brother, that he is not well nor stirs out of doors, I went forth to see him. I found him taking order for the distribution of Mrs. Ramsey's coles, a thing my father for many years did, and now he after him, which I was glad to see. Thence to St. Paul's Church Yarde, to my bookseller's, and

¹ Old style. (M. B.)

² See note, 6th April, 1660. (M. B.)

having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or 3*l.*, I did here sit two or three hours calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great losse where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to laying out money in this trade. I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in ; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthys, the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, *Delices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure : and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by linke home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth ; and so home to supper and to-bed. Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, to-day, he tells me that Sir H. Wright is dying ; and that Harris is come to the Duke's house again ; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's : the story of Henry the Eighth with all his wives.

11th. Going out Mr. Clerke met me to tell me that Field has a writ against me in this last business of 30*l.* 10s., and that he believes he will get an execution against me this morning, and though he told me it could not be well before noon, and that he would stop it at the Sheriff's, yet it is hard to believe with what fear I did walk and how I did doubt at every man I saw and do start at the hearing of one man cough behind my neck. At my bookseller's and bought at a shop Cardinall Mazarin's Will in French. I to the Coffeehouse and there among

others had good discourse with an Iron Merchant, who tells me the great evil of discouraging our natural manufacture of England in that commodity by suffering the Swede to bring in three times more than ever they did and our owne Ironworks be lost, as almost half of them, he says, are already. Then I went and sat by Mr. Harrington, and some East country merchants, and talking of the country about Quinsborough,¹ and thereabouts, he told us himself that for fish, none there, the poorest body, will buy a dead fish, but must be alive, unless it be in winter; and then they told us the manner of putting their nets into the water. Through holes made in the thick ice, they will spread a net of half a mile long; and he hath known a hundred and thirty and a hundred and seventy barrells of fish taken at one draught. And then the people come with sledges upon the ice, with snow at the bottome, and lay the fish in and cover them with snow, and so carry them to market. And he hath seen when the said fish have been frozen in the sledge, so as that he hath taken a fish and broke a-pieces, so hard it hath been; and yet the same fishes taken out of the snow, and brought into a hot room, will be alive and leap up and down. Swallows are often brought up in their nets out of the mudd from under water, hanging together to some twigg or other, dead in ropes, and brought to the fire will come to life. Fowl killed in December (Alderman Barker said) he did buy, and putting into the box under his sledge, did forget to take them out to eate till Aprill next, and they then were found there, and were through the frost as sweet and fresh and eat as well as at first killed. Young beares are there; their flesh sold in market as ordinarily as beef here, and is

¹ Perhaps Mr. Harrington invented the name of this place, and the account of the country.

excellent sweet meat. They tell us that beares there do never hurt any body, but fly away from you, unless you pursue and set upon them; but wolves do much mischief. Mr. Harrington told us how they do to get so much honey as they send abroad. They make hollow a great fir-tree, leaving only a small slitt down straight in one place, and this they close up again, only leave a little hole, and there the bees go in and fill the bodys of those trees as full of wax and honey as they can hold; and the inhabitants at times go and open the slit, and take what they please without killing the bees, and so let them live there still and make more. Fir trees are always planted close together, because of keeping one another from the violence of the windes; and when a fellit is made, they leave here and there a grown tree to preserve the young ones coming up. The great entertainment and sport of the Duke of Corland, and the princes thereabouts, is hunting; which is not with dogs as we, but he appoints such a day, and summons all the country-people as to a campaignia; and by several companies gives every one their circuit, and they agree upon a place where the toyle is to be set; and so making fires every company as they go, they drive all the wild beasts, whether bears, wolves, foxes, swine, and stags, and roes, into the toyle; and there the great men have their stands in such and such places, and shoot at what they have a mind to, and that is their hunting. They are not very populous there, by reason that people marry women seldom till they are towards or above thirty; and men thirty or forty, or more oftentimes, years old. Against a publique hunting the Duke sends that no wolves be killed by the people; and whatever harm they do, the Duke makes it good to the person that suffers it: as Mr. Harrington instanced in a house where he lodged, where a wolfe

broke into a hog-stye, and bit three or four great pieces off the back of the hog, before the house could come to helpe it ; and the man of the house told him that there were three or four wolves thereabouts that did them great hurt ; but it was no matter, for the Duke was to make it good to him, otherwise he would kill them.

12th. We had this morning a great dispute between Mr. Gauden, Victualler of the Navy, and Sir J. Lawson, and the rest of the Commanders going against Argier, about their fish and keeping of Lent; which Mr. Gauden so much insists upon to have it observed, as being the only thing that makes up the loss of his dear bargain all the rest of the year. At noon went home and there I found that one Abrahall, who strikes in for the serving of the King with Ship Chandlery ware, has sent my wife a Japan gowne, which pleases her very well and me also, it coming very opportune, but I know not how to carry myself to him, I being already obliged so far to Mrs. Russell, so that I am in both their pays. I brought Luellin home to dinner with me. He tells me that W. Symon's wife is dead, for which I am sorry, she being a good woman, and tells me an odde story of her saying before her death, being in good sense, that there stood her uncle Scobell. Then he began to tell me that Mr. Deering had been with him to desire him to speak to me that if I would get him off with these goods upon his hands, he would give me 50 pieces, and further that if I would stand his friend to helpe him to the benefit of his patent as the King's merchant, he could spare 200*l.* per annum out of his profits. I was glad to hear both of these, but answered him no further than that as I would not by any thing be bribed to be unjust in my dealings, so I was not so squeamish as not to take people's acknowledgment where I had the good fortune by my

pains to do them good and just offices, and so I would not come to be at any agreement with him, but I would labour to do him this service and to expect his consideration thereof afterwards as he thought fit. This day I heard my Lord Barkeley tell Sir G. Carteret that he hath letters from France that the King hath unduked twelve Dukes, only to show his power and to crush his nobility, who he said he did see had heretofore laboured to cross him. And this my Lord Barkeley did mightily magnify, as a sign of a brave and vigorous mind, that what he saw fit to be done he dares do.

13th (Lord's day). Up and made me ready for Church, and after sermon home, and before dinner reading my vowes, and in the evening to my office to read Rushworth upon the charge and answer of the Duke of Buckingham, which is very fine.

14th. To the Duke, where I heard a large discourse between one that goes over an agent from the King to Legorne and thereabouts, to remove the inconveniences his ships are put to by denial of pratique; which is a thing that is now-a-days made use of only as a cheat, for a man may buy a bill of health for a piece of eight, and my enemy may agree with the Intendent of the Santé for ten pieces of eight or so, that he shall not give me a bill of health, and so spoil me in my design, whatever it be. This the King will not endure, and so resolves either to have it removed, or to keep all ships from coming in, or going out there, so long as his ships are stayed for want hereof. But among other things, Lord! what an account did Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten make of the pulling down and burning of the head of the Charles, where Cromwell was placed with people under his horse, and Peter, as the Duke called him, is praying to him; and Sir J. Minnes would needs infer the temper of the people from

their joy at the doing of this and their building a gibbet for the hanging of his head up, when, God knows, it is even the flinging away of 100*l.* out of the King's purse, to the building of another, which it seems must be a Neptune. To my Lord's lodging, where I found my Lord got before me and was there trying some musique, which he intends for an anthem of three parts. But it did trouble me to hear him swear before God and other oathes, as he did now and then without any occasion, which methinks did so ill become him, and I hope will be a caution for me, it being so ill a thing in him. The musique being done, without showing me any good or ill countenance, he did give me his hat and so adieu. He being gone I and Mr. Howe talked a good while. He tells me that my Lord, it is true, for a while after my letter, was displeased, and did shew many slightings of me, but when I did hear how he is come to himself, and hath wholly left Chelsy, and the slut, and that I see he do follow his business, and becomes in better repute than before, I am rejoiced to see it, though it do cost me some disfavour for a time. To the King's Head ordinary, and there dined among a company of fine gentlemen; some of them discoursed of the King of France's greatness, and how he is come to make the Princes of the Blood to take place of all foreign Embassadors, which it seems is granted by them of Venice and other States, and expected from my Lord Hollis,¹ our King's Embassador there; and that either upon that score or something else he hath not had his entry yet in Paris, but hath received several affronts, and among others his harnesse cut, and his gentlemen of his horse killed, which will

¹ Denzil Hollis, second son of John, first Earl of Clare, created in 1661 Baron Hollis of Ifield, afterwards Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Breda. Ob. 1679-80, aged 82.

breed bad blood if true. They say also that the King of France hath hired threescore ships of Holland, and forty of the Swede, but nobody knows what to do; but some great designs he hath on foot against the next year. With Sir W. Warren who did give me excellent discourse. Then we fell to talk of Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's burning of Oliver's head, while he was there; which was done with so much insulting and folly as I never heard of, and had the trayned band of Rochester to come to the solemnity, which when all comes to all, Commissioner Pett says it never was made for him; but it troubles me the King should suffer 100 $\%$ losse in his purse, to make a new one, after it was forgot whose it was, or any words spoke of it.

15th. Before I was up, my brother's man came to tell me that my cozen, Edward Pepys, was dead at Mrs. Turner's, for which my wife and I are very sorry, and the more for that his wife was the only handsome woman of our name. At dinner comes a messenger from the counter with an execution against me for the 30 $\%$ 10s., given the last verdict to Field. I sent Griffin with him to the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten was at dinner, and he being satisfied that I should pay the money, I did cause the money to be paid him, and Griffin to tell it out to him in the office. Late with Sir W. Warren upon very serious discourse; he did give me most admirable advice, and such as do speak him a most able and worthy man, and understanding seven times more than ever I thought to be in him. He did particularly run over every one of the officers and commanders, and shewed me how I had reason to mistrust every one of them, either for their falsenesse or their overgreat power, being too high to fasten a real friendship in, and did give me a common but a most excellent [saying] to observe in all my life. He did give it in

rhyme, but the sense was this, that a man should treat every friend in his discourse and opening his mind to him as of one that may hereafter be his foe. He did also advise me how I should take occasion to make known to the world my case, and the pains that I take in my business, and above all to be sure to get a thorough knowledge in my employment, and to that add all the interest at Court that I can, which I hope I shall do.

17th. To Mrs. Turner, where I find her and her sister Dike very sad for the death of their brother. After a little common expression of sorrow, Mrs. Turner told me that the trouble she would put me to was, to consult about getting an achievement prepared, scutcheons were done already, to set over the door. So I did go out to Mr. Smith's, where my brother tells me the scutcheons are made, but he not being within, I went to the Temple, and there spent my time in a Bookseller's shop, reading in a book of some Embassages into Moscovia, &c., where was very good reading, and then to Mrs. Turner's, and thither came Smith to me, with whom I did agree for 4*l*. to make a handsome one, ell square within the frame. After he was gone I sat an houre talking of the suddenesse of his death within 7 days, and how by little and little death came upon him, neither he nor they thinking it would come to that.

18th. I took water (taking a dram of the bottle at the waterside) with a gally, the first that ever I had yet, and down to Woolwich, calling at Ham Creeke, where I met Mr. Deane, and had a great deal of talke with him about business, and so to the Ropeyarde and Docke, and did the like at Deptford, and I find that it is absolutely necessary for me to do thus once a weeke at least all the yeare round, which will do me great good, and so home with great ease and content, especially out of the content which

I met with in a book I bought yesterday, being a discourse of the state of Rome under the present Pope, Alexander the 7th, it being a very excellent piece. After eating something at home, then to my office, where till night about business to dispatch. Among other people came Mr. Primate, the leather seller, in Fleete Streete, to see me, he says, coming this way; and he tells me that he is upon a proposal to the King, whereby, by a law already in being, he will supply the King, without wrong to any man, or charge to the people in general, so much as it is now, above 200,000*l.* per annum, and God knows what, and that the King do like the proposal, and hath directed that the Duke of Monmouth, with their consent, be made privy, and go along with him and his fellow proposer in the business, God knows what it is; for I neither can guess nor believe there is any such thing in his head.

19th. To Mrs. Turner's, whom I find busy with Sir W. Turner, about advising upon going down to Norfolk with the corps, and I find him in talke a sober, considering man. So home to my office late, and then to supper and to bed. My head full of business, but pretty good content.

20th (Lord's day). Up and alone to church, where a common sermon of Mr. Mills, and so home to dinner in our parler, my wife being clean, and in the afternoon went with me to church also, and there begun to take her place above Mrs. Pen, which heretofore out of a humour she was wont to give her as an affront to my Lady Batten. After a dull sermon of the Scotchman, home, and there I found my brother Tom and my two cozens Scotts, he and she, the first time they were ever here. We were as merry as I could be with people that I do wish well to, but know not what discourse either to give them or find from them. We showed them our

house from top to bottom, and had a good Turkey roasted for our supper, and store of wine, and after supper sent them away on foot, and so we to prayers and to bed.

21st. To my Lord Sandwich's, and there I had a pretty kind salute from my Lord, and went on to the Duke's and did our business, and so broke up, and I to Mrs. Turner's, and there saw the achievement pretty well set up, and it is well done. Thence I on foot to Charing Crosse to the ordinary, and there dined, meeting Mr. Gauden and Creed. After dinner won a wager of a payre of gloves of a crowne of Mr. Gauden upon some words in his contract for victualing. Being directed by sight of bills upon the wall I did go to Shoe Lane to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a sport I was never at in my life; but Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament-man (by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor) to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another in swearing, cursing, and betting. I soon had enough of it, and yet I would not but have seen it once, it being strange to observe the nature of these poor creatures, how they will fight till they drop down dead upon the table, and strike after they are ready to give up the ghost, not offering to run away when they are weary or wounded past doing further, whereas where a dung-hill brood comes he will, after a sharp stroke that pricks him, run off the stage, and then they wring off his neck without more ado, whereas the other they preserve, though their eyes be both out, for breed only of a true cock of the game. Sometimes a cock that has had ten to one against him will by chance give an unlucky blow, will strike the other starke dead in a moment, that he never stirs more;

but the common rule is, that though a cock neither runs nor dies, yet if any man will bet 10*l.* to a crowne, and nobody take the bet, the game is given over, and not sooner. One thing more it is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at one bet, and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle (so they call every match of two cocks), so that one of them will lose 10*l.* or 20*l.* at a meeting. Thence, having enough of it, by coach to my Lord Sandwich's, where I find him within with Captain Cooke and his boys, Dr. Childe, Mr. Madge, and Mallard, playing and singing over my Lord's anthem which he hath made to sing in the King's Chappell: my Lord took me into the withdrawing-room to hear it at a distance, and indeed it sounds very finely, and is a good thing, I believe to be made by him, and they all commend it. And after that was done Captain Cooke and his two boys did sing some Italian songs, which I must in a word say I think was fully the best musique that I ever yet heard in all my life. After all musique ended, my Lord going to White Hall, I went along with him, and made a desire for to have his coach to go along with my cozen Edward Pepys's hearse through the City on Wednesday next, which he granted me presently, though he cannot yet come to speak to me in the familiar stile that he did use to do, nor can I expect it.

22nd. Up and there comes my she cozen Angier, of Cambridge, to me to speak about her son. But though I love them, and have reason so to do, yet Lord! to consider how cold I am to speak to her, for fear of giving her too much hopes of expecting either money or anything else from me besides my care of her son. I hear for certain that my Lady Castlemaine is turned Papist, which the Queene for

all do not much like, thinking that she do it not for conscience sake.¹ I heard to-day of a great fray lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's to the losse of one of his eyes; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport with some words of contempt to him, my Lord Chamberlin did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice, did it; but upon petition to the King it was opened again. At noon I to Sir R. Ford's, where Sir Richard Browne and I met upon the freight of a barge sent to France to the Duchesse of Orleans; and here by discourse I find they greatly cry out against the choice of Sir John Cutler to be treasurer of Paul's, upon condition that he gives 1,500*l.* towards it; and it seems he did give it upon condition that he might be treasurer for the work, which, they say, will be worth three times as much money; and talk as if his being chosen to the office will make people backward to give, but I think him as likely a man as either of them, and better. Home, and had a letter from W. Howe that my Lord hath ordered his coach and six horses for me to-morrow, which pleases me mightily to think that my Lord should do so much, hoping thereby that his anger is a little over. After dinner abroad with my wife by coach to Westminster, and I perceive the King and Duke and all the Court was going to the Duke's playhouse to see "Henry VIII." acted, which is said to be an admirable play. But, Lord! to see how near I was to have broke my oathe, or

¹ "Le mariage du Chevalier de Grammont" (*says the Count d'Estrades in a letter written to his Royal Master, Louis XIV. about this time*), "et la conversion de Madame de Castlemaine se sont publiez le meme jour: et le Roy d'Angleterre estant tant priè par les parents de la Dame d'aporter quelque obstacle à cette action, repondit galamment que pour l'âme des Dames, il ne s'en mêloit point."

run the hazard of 20s. losse, so much my nature was hot to have gone thither; but I did not go.

23rd. Up betimes and my wife; and being in as mourning a dress as we could, at present, without cost, put ourselves into, we by Sir W. Pen's coach to Mrs. Turner's, at Salisbury Court, where I find my Lord's coach and six horses. We staid till almost eleven o'clock, and much company came, and anon, the corps being put into the hearse, and the scutcheons set upon it, we all took coach, and I and my wife and Auditor Beale in my Lord Sandwich's coach, and went next to Mrs. Turner's mourning coach, and so through all the City and Shoreditch, I believe about twenty coaches, and four or five with six and four horses. Being come thither, I made up to the mourners, and bidding them a good journey, I took leave and back again, and setting my wife into a hackney coach out of Bishopsgate Street, I sent her home, and I to the 'Change and did much business, and so home to dinner to my great content to see God bless me in my place and opening honest ways, I hope to get a little money to lay up and yet to live handsomely.

24th. Up betimes, and though it was a most foggy morning, and cold, yet with a gally down to Eriffe,¹ several times being at a loss whither we went. There I mustered two ships of the King's, lent by him to the Guiny Company, which are manned better than ours at far less wages. Thence on board two of the King's, one of them the "Leopard," Captain Beech, who I find an able and serious man. Here was also Sir G. Carteret's son, who I find a pretty, but very talking man, but good humour. Thence back again, entertaining myself upon my sliding rule with great content. At home found my wife making

¹ Erith. (M. B.)

mince pies, and by and by comes in Captain Ferrers to see us, and, among other talke, tells us of the goodness of the new play of "Henry VIII.," which makes me think it long till my time is out; but I hope before I go I shall set myself such a stint as I may not forget myself as I have hitherto done till I was forced for these months last past wholly to forbid myself the seeing of one.

25th. My wife begun, I know not whether by design or chance, to enquire what she should do if I should by any accident die, to which I did give her some slight answer; but shall make good use of it to bring myself to some settlement for her sake, by making a will as soon as I can. To church, where Mr. Mills made an ordinary sermon. In the afternoon I began to read to my wife upon the globes with great pleasure and to good purpose, for it will be pleasant to her and to me to have her understand these things. Late reading Rushworth, which is a most excellent collection of the beginning of the late quarrels in this kingdom.

26th. Up and walked first to the Minerys to Brown's, and there with great pleasure saw and bespoke several instruments, and so to Cornhill to Mr. Cades, and there went up into his warehouse to look for a map or two, and there finding great plenty of good pictures, God forgive me! how my mind run upon them, and bought a little one for my wife's closett presently,¹ and concluded presently¹ of buying 10*l.* worth. Thence to the Coffee-house, and sat long in good discourse with some gentlemen concerning the Roman Empire. So home and found Mr. Hollyard there, and he dined with us, we having a pheasant to dinner. He gone, I all the afternoon with my wife to cards. So to my office writing

¹ Forthwith. (M. B.)

letters, and then to read and make an end of Rushworth, which I did, and do say that it is a book the most worth reading for a man of my condition or any man that hopes to come to any publique condition in the world that I do know.

27th. Up and to church alone and so home to dinner with my wife very pleasant and pleased with one another's company and in our general enjoyment one of another, better we think than most other couples do. So after dinner to the French church, but came too late, and so back to our owne church. Home to supper, discourse, prayers, and bed.

28th. Walking through White Hall I heard the King was gone to play at Tennis, so I down to the New Tennis Court, and saw him and Sir Arthur Slingsby play against my Lord of Suffolke and my Lord Chesterfield. The King beat three, and lost two sets, they all, and he particularly playing well, I thought. Thence went and spoke with the Duke of Albemarle about his wound at Newhall, but I find him a heavy dull man, methinks, by his answers to me. The Duchesse of York is fallen sicke of the meazles.

29th. Sir W. Pen came like a cunning rogue to sit and talk with me about office business and freely about the Comptroller's business of the office, to which I did give him free answers and let him make the best of them. But I know him to be a knave, and do say nothing that I fear to have said again.

30th. Up betimes and by coach to my Lord Sandwich, who I met going out, and he did aske me how his cozen, my wife, did, the first time he hath done so since his being offended, and, in my conscience, he would be glad to be free with me again, but he knows not how to begin. So to Mr. Coventry, where I saw Mr. Ch. Pett bringing him a modell, and indeed it is a pretty one, for a New Year's gift; but

I think the work not better done than mine. To the Coffee-house, whither came Mr. Grant and Sir W. Petty, with whom I talked, and so did many, almost all the house there, about his new vessel, wherein he did give me such satisfaction in every point that I am confident she will prove an admirable invention.

31st. To dinner, my wife and I, a fine turkey and a mince pie, and dined in state, poor wretch, she and I, and have thus kept our Christmas together all alone almost, having not once been out, but to-morrow my vowes are all out as to plays and wine, but I hope I shall not be long before I come to new ones, so much good, and God's blessing, I find to have attended them. At the Coffee-house, hearing some simple discourse about Quakers being charmed by a string about their wrists. I bless God I do, after a large expense, even this month, find that I am worth in money, besides all my household stuff, or anything of Brampton, above 800*l.*, whereof in my Lord Sandwich's hand, 700*l.*, and the rest in my hand. I do live at my lodgings in the Navy Office, my family being, besides my wife and I, Jane Gentleman, Besse, our excellent, good-natured cook-mayde, and Susan, a little girle, having neither man nor boy, nor like to have again a good while, living now in most perfect content and quiett, and very frugally also; my health pretty good. At the office I am well, though envied to the devil by Sir William Batten, who hates me to death, but cannot hurt me. The rest either love me, or at least do not show otherwise, though I know Sir W. Pen to be a false knave touching me, though he seems fair. My father and mother well in the country; and at this time the young ladies of Hinchingbroke with them, their house having the small-pox in it. The Queene after a long and sore sicknesse is become well again; and the King minds his mistresse a little too much,

if it pleased God! but I hope all things will go well, and in the Navy particularly, wherein I shall do my duty whatever comes of it. The great talke is the designs of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spayne nobody knows; but a great and a most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him. My wife's brother come to great unhappiness by the ill-disposition, my wife says, of his wife, and her poverty, which she now professes, after all her husband's pretence of a great fortune. At present I am concerned for my cozen Angier, of Cambridge, lately broke in his trade, and this day am sending his son John, a very rogue, to sea. My brother Tom I know not what to think of, for I cannot hear whether he minds his business or not; and my brother John at Cambridge, with as little hopes of doing good there, for when he was here he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life. Pall with my father, and God knows what she do there, or what will become of her, for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old, and must be disposed of one way or other. The Duchesse of York, at this time, sicke of the meazles, is growing well again. The Turke very far entered into Germany, and all that part of the world at a losse what to expect from his proceedings. Myself, blessed be God! in a good way, and design and resolution of sticking to my business to get a little money with, doing the best service I can to the King also; which God continue! So ends the old year.

January 1st, 1663-4. At the Coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's, a merchant, lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her: her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth 80,000*l*. Thence to my uncle

Wight's, where Dr. —, among others, dined, and the Drs. discourse did please me very well about the disease of the stone, above all things extolling Turpentine, which he told me how it might be taken in pills with great ease. There was brought to table a hot pie made of a swan I sent them yesterday. My wife and I rose from table, pretending business, and went to the Duke's house, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vowe, and here saw the so much cried-up play of "Henry the Eighth;" which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done. Thence mightily dissatisfied back at night to my uncle Wight's, and supped with them, but against my stomach out of the offence the sight of my aunt's hands gives me.

2nd. After dinner I took my wife out, for I do find that I am not able to conquer myself as to going to plays till I come to some new vowe concerning it, and that I am now come to, that is to say, that I will not see above one in a month at any of the publique theatres till the sum of 50s. be spent. and then none before New Year's Day next, unless that I do become worth 1,000*l.* sooner than then, and then am free to come to some other terms, and so to the King's house, and saw "The Usurper," which is no good play, though better than what I saw yesterday.

3rd (Lord's day). Within all day, looking over and settling my accounts in good order, by examining all my books, and the kitchen accounts. This evening Sir W. Pen came to invite me against next Wednesday, being twelfth day, to his usual feast, his wedding day.

4th. I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he not

being up, I to the Duke's chamber, and there by and by to his closett, where since his lady was ill, a little red bed of velvet is brought for him to lie alone, which is a very pretty one. After doing business here, I to my Lord's again, and there spoke with him, and he seems now almost friends again as he used to be. Here meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, he told me among other Court newes, how the Queene is very well again; and that she speaks now very pretty English, and makes her sense out now and then with pretty phrases: as among others this is mightily cried up; that, meaning to say that she did not like such a horse so well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, she said he did make too much vanity. Thence to the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at Tennis and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly. Afterwards to St. James's Parke, seeing people play at Pell Mell; where it pleased me mightily to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man (a spruce blade) to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall. My wife is mighty sad to think of her father, who is going into Germany against the Turkes; but what will become of her brother I know not. He is so idle, and out of all capacity, I think, to earn his bread.

6th (Twelfth day). To dinner with my poor wife, and after dinner read a lecture to her in Geography, which she takes very prettily and with great pleasure to her and me to teach her, and so to the office again, where as busy as ever in my life, one thing after another. This morning I began a practice which I find by the ease I do it with that I shall continue, it

saving me money and time ; that is, to trimme myself with a razer : which pleases me mightily.

7th. Up, putting on my best clothes and to the office. At noon, all of us to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where a very handsome dinner, Sir J. Lawson among others, and his lady and his daughter, a very pretty lady and of good deportment, with looking upon whom I was greatly pleased. But to see how Sir W. Pen imitates me in everything, even in his having his chimney piece in his dining room the same with that in my wife's closett, and in every thing else I perceive wherein he can. But to see again how he was out in one compliment : he lets alone drinking any of the ladies' healths that were there, my Lady Batten and Lawson, till he had begun with my Lady Carteret, who was absent, and that was well enough, and then Mr. Coventry's mistresse, at which he was ashamed, and would not have had him have drunk it, at least before the ladies present, but his policy, as he thought, was such that he would do it.

8th. By appointment took Luellin, Mount, and W. Symons, and Mr. Pierce, the chirurgion, home to dinner with me and were merry. But, Lord ! to hear how W. Symons do commend and look sadly and then talk merrily, though his wife was dead but the other day, would make a dogg laugh. We spent all the afternoon together and then they to cards with my wife, who this day put on her Indian blue gowne which is very pretty, where I left them and to my office. We had great pleasure this afternoon ; among other things, to talk of our old passages together in Cromwell's time ; and how W. Symons did make me laugh and wonder to-day when he told me how he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment, through eight governments in one year (the year 1659, which were indeed, and he did name them all), and then failed unhappy in

the ninth, viz. that of the King's coming in. He made good to me the story which Luellin did tell me the other day, of his wife upon her death-bed; how she dreamt of her uncle Scobell, and did foretell, from some discourse she had with him, that she should die four days thence, and not sooner, and did all along say so, and did so. Upon the 'Change a great talke there was of one Mr. Tryan, an old man, a merchant in Lyme-Streete, robbed last night (his man and mayde being gone out after he was a-bed), and gagged and robbed of 1,050*l.* in money and about 4,000*l.* in jewells, which he had in his house as security for money. It is believed by many circumstances that his man is guilty of confederacy, by their ready going to his secret till in his desk, wherein the key of his cash-chest lay.

9th. By discourse with my wife thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which however I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expence. Called at Ludgate, at Ashwell's uncle's, but she was not within, to have spoke to her to have come to dress my wife at the time my Lord dines here.

10th (Lord's day). My brother Tom being come to see me, we to dinner, he telling me how Mrs. Turner found herself discontented with her late bad journey, and not well taken by them in the country, they not desiring her coming down, nor the buriall of Mr. Edward Pepys's corps there. At night my wife and I to my uncle Wight's and there eat some of their swan pie which was good, and I invited them to my house to eat a roasted swan on Tuesday next, which after I was come home did make a quarrell between my wife and I, because she had appointed a wash to-morrow. But, however, we

were friends again quickly. All our discourse to-night was Mr. Tryan's late being robbed; and that Collonell Turner (a mad, swearing, confident fellow, well known by all, and by me), one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it; of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

11th. To White Hall and there with the rest of our company to the Duke and did our business and thence to the Tennis Court till noon, and there saw several great matches played and so by invitation to St. James's; where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, I dined with my Lord Barkeley, Sir G. Carteret, Sir Edward Turner,¹ Sir Ellis Layton,² and one Mr. Seymour, a fine gentleman; where admirable good discourse of all sorts, pleasant and serious. Thence after dinner to White Hall, and thence by coach with Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower; he set me down at Cornhill, but, Lord! the simple discourse that all the way we had, he magnifying his great undertakings and cares that have been upon him for these last two years, and how he commanded the city to the content of all parties, when the loggerhead knows nothing almost that is sense. Thence to the Coffee-house whither comes Sir W. Petty and Captain Grant, and we fell in talke (besides a young gentleman, I suppose a merchant, his name Mr.

¹ Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Solicitor-general, and Lord Chief Baron. Ob. 1675.

² D. C. L., brother to R. Leighton, Bishop of Dumblane (better known as Archbishop of Glasgow), and had been Secretary to the Duke of York. Their father, a Puritan, Alexander Leighton, for his two books, "Zion's Plea" and "The Looking Glass of the Holy War," was ordered by the Star Chamber to have his nose slit and his ears cut, and to be whipped from Newgate to Aldgate, and then to Tyburn. (M. B.)

Hill, that has travelled and I perceive is a master in most sorts of musique and other things) of musique; the universal character; art of memory; Granger's counterfeiting of hands and other most excellent discourses to my great content, having not been in so good company a great while, and had I time I should covet the acquaintance of that Mr. Hill. This morning I stood by the King arguing with a pretty Quaker woman, that delivered to him a desire of hers in writing. The King showed her Sir J. Minnes, as a man the fittest for her quaking religion; she modestly saying nothing till he begun seriously to discourse with her, arguing the truth of his spirit against hers; she replying still with these words, "O King!" and thou'd him all along. The general talke of the towne still is of Collonell Turner, about the robbery; who, it is thought, will be hanged. I heard the Duke of York tell to-night, how letters are come that fifteen are condemned for the late plot by the Judges at York; and, among others, Captain Oates, against whom it was proved that he drew his sword at his going out, and flinging away the scabbard, said that he would either return victor or be hanged.

12th. To the office and so home and anon comes my uncle Wight and my aunt, with their cozens Mary and Robert, and by chance my uncle Thomas Pepys. We had a good dinner, the chief dish a swan roasted, and that excellent meate. After dinner to cards, where till evening and lost half-a-crowne. So to my office till late, and then home to bed, after being at prayers, which is the first time after my late vowe to say prayers in my family twice in every week.

13th. Abroad to many several places about business, and through Bedlam (calling by the way at an old bookseller's and there fell into looking over

Spanish books and pitched upon some, till I thought of my oath when I was going to agree for them, and so with much ado got myself out of the shop glad at my heart and so away) to the African house to look upon their book of contracts. So to the Coffee-house, where extraordinary good discourse of Dr. Whistler's upon my question concerning the keeping of masts, he arguing against keeping them dry, by showing the nature of corruption in bodies and the several ways thereof.

15th. My wife tells me that my uncle Wight hath been with her, and played at cards with her and is mighty inquisitive to know whether she is with child or no, which makes me wonder what his meaning is, and after all my thoughts, I cannot think, unless it be in order to the making his will, and I would to God my wife had told him that she was.

16th. At noon I to the 'Change about some pieces of eight for Sir J. Lawson. There I hear that Collonell Turner is found guilty of felony at the Sessions in Mr. Tryan's business, which will save his life. So home, where Browne of the Minerys brought me an Instrument made of a Spyral line very pretty for all questions in Arithmetique almost, but it must be some use that must make me perfect in it.

17th (Lord's day). To the French church and there heard a good sermon, the first time my wife and I were there ever together. We sat by three sisters, all pretty women. It was pleasant to hear the reader give notice to them, that the children to be catechized next Sunday were them of Houndsditch and Blanche Chapiton.¹ My wife and I to see Sir W. Pen and there supped with him much against my stomach, for the dishes were so deadly foule that I could not endure to look upon them.

18th. Abroad to White Hall, where the Court all

¹ Blanch Apleton, or Blanchechapelon. (M. B.)

in mourning for the Duchesse of Savoy. By coach to the 'Change, after having been at the Coffee-house, where I hear Turner¹ is found guilty of felony and burglary; and strange stories of his confidence at the barr, but yet great indiscretion in his argueing. All desirous of his being hanged.

19th. My eyes began to fail me, and to be in pain which I never felt till now-a-days, which I impute to sitting up late writing and reading by candle-light.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and I walked with him to the Tennis Court, and there left him, seeing the King play. My Lord Sandwich did seal a lease for the house he is now taking in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which stands him in 250*l.* per annum rent. Thence by water to my brother's, whom I find not well in bed, sicke, they think, of a consumption. So to Mr. Commander's in Warwicke Lane, to speak to him about drawing up my will. So to the 'Change and walked home, thence with Sir Richard Ford, who told me that Turner is to be hanged to-morrow, and with what impudence he hath carried out his trial; but that last night, when he brought him newes of his death, he begun to be sober and shed some tears, and he hopes will die a penitent; he having already confessed all the thing, but says it was partly done for a joke, and partly to get an occasion of obliging the old man by his care in getting him his things again, he having some hopes of being the better by him in his estate at his death. Mr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by by the King, but that he do doat upon Mrs. Stewart only; and that to the leaving of all business in the world, and to the open slighting of the Queene; that he values not who sees him or stands by him while he dallies with her openly; and then

¹ Vide State Trials.

privately in her chamber below, where the very sentrys observe his going in and out ; and that so commonly, that the Duke or any of the nobles, when they would ask where the King is, they will ordinarily say, "Is the King above, or below?" meaning with Mrs. Stewart : that the King do not openly disown my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court ; but that my Lord FitzHarding and the Hambletons,¹ and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, have their snaps at her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queene's lodgings, that he might be the least observed ; that the Duke of Monmouth the King do still doat on beyond measure, insomuch that the King only, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, do now wear deep mourning, that is, long cloaks, for the Duchesse of Savoy ; so that he mourns as a Prince of the Blood, while the Duke of York do no more, and all the nobles of the land not so much ; which gives great offence, and he sees the Duke of York do consider. But that the Duke of York do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble Prince ; and so indeed I do from my heart think he will. He says that it is believed, as well as hoped, that care is taken to lay up a hidden treasure of money by the King against a bad day. I pray God it be so ! but I should be more glad that the King himself would look after business, which it seems he do not in the least. By and by came by Mr. Coventry and then my Lord Sandwich came upon me, to speak with whom my business of coming again to-night to this ende of the towne chiefly was, in order to the seeing in what manner

¹ George Hamilton, and the Count Antoine Hamilton, author of the "*Mémoires de Grammont*."

he received me, in order to my inviting him to dinner, but as well in the morning as now he treated me, though with respect, yet as a stranger, without any of the intimacy or friendship which he used to do, but do look upon me as a remembrancer of his former vanity, and an espy upon his present practices. I am resolved to forbear my laying out my money upon a dinner till I see him in a better posture, and by grave and humble, though high deportment, to make him think I do not want him, and that will make him the readier to admit me to his friendship again, I believe the soonest of anything but downright impudence, and thrusting myself, as others do, upon him, which yet I cannot do, nor will not endeavour. Home, troubled in mind for these passages with my Lord, but am resolved to better my case in my business to make my stand upon my owne legs the better and to lay up as well as to get money. To bed, after I had by candlelight shaved myself and cut off all my beard clear, which will make my worke a great deal the less in shaving.

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the office, and at noon to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. And so I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done; and to St. Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an houre before the execution was done; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none came, and at last was flung off the ladder in his cloake. A comely-looking man he was, and kept his countenance to the end: I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 or 14,000 people in

the street. Thence to the Coffee-house, and heard the full of Turner's discourse on the cart, which was chiefly to clear himself of all things laid to his charge but this fault, for which he now suffers, which he confesses. He deplored the condition of his family, but his chief design was to lengthen time, believing still a reprieve would come, though the sheriff advised him to expect no such thing, for the King was resolved to grant none. Thence to my aunt Wight's to fetch my wife home, where Dr. Burnett did tell me how poorly the sheriffs did endeavour to get one Jewell returned by Turner, after he was convicted, as a due to them, and not to give it to Mr. Tryan, the true owner, but ruled against them, to their great dishonour.

22nd. Up, and it being a brave morning, with a gally to Woolwich, and there both at the Ropeyarde and the other yarde did much business, and thence to Greenwich to see Mr. Pett and others value the carved work of the "Henrietta" (God knows in an ill manner for the King), and so to Deptford, and there viewed Sir W. Petty's vessel; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it, for I am of the opinion that he would never have discoursed so much of it, if it were not better than other vessels, and so I believe that he was abused the other day, as he is now, by tongues that I am sure speak before they know anything good or bad of her. I am sorry to find his ingenuity discouraged so. So home, reading all the way a good book, and after dinner a lesson on the globes to my wife, and so to my office till 10 or 11 o'clock at night.

23rd. After we had dined came Mr. Mallard, and I brought down my vyall, which he played on, the first maister that ever touched her yet, and she proves very well and will be, I think, an admirable instrument. He played some very fine things of his

owne, but I was afeard to enter too far in their commendation for fear he should offer to copy them for me out and so I be forced to give or lend him something.

24th (Lord's day). Being desirous to perform my vowes that I lately made, among others, to be performed this month, I did go to my office, and there fell on entering, out of a bye-book, part of my second journall-book, which hath lain these two years and more unentered. This evening also I drew up a rough draught of my last will to my mind.

25th. At Warwicke Lane and there called upon Mr. Commander and did give him my last will and testament to write over in form. To the office upon a particular meeting of the East India Company, where I think I did the King good service against the Company in the business of their sending our ships home empty from the Indies contrary to their contract.

26th. To the office. At noon to the 'Change, after being at the Coffee-house where I sat by Tom Killigrew who told us of a fire last night in my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, where she bid 40*l.* for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done; and the fire at last quenched without doing much wrong.

27th. At the Coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue¹ and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear, and, among other things (saying, that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world—"Religio Medici,"² "Osborne's

¹ A distinguished naval officer before and after the Restoration; but he never went to sea subsequently to the action in 1666, when he was taken prisoner.

By Sir Thomas Browne. (M. B.)

Advice to a Son,¹ and "Hudibras"), did say that in these—in the two first principally—the wit lies, and confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged, which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument, which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like; whereas, as by many particular instances of mine, and others, out of Osborne, he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osborne's arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight; at least, so far, but that they might be weakened, and better found in their rooms to confirm what is there said. He shewed finely whence it happens that good writers are not admired by the present age; because there are but few in any age that do mind anything that is abstruse and curious; and so longer before any body do put the true praise, and set it on foot in the world, the generality of mankind pleasing themselves in the easy delights of the world, as eating, drinking, dancing, hunting, fencing, which we see the meanest men do the best, those that profess it. A gentleman never dances so well as the dancing master, and an ordinary fiddler makes better musique for a shilling than a gentleman will do after spending forty, and so in all the delights of the world almost. Home, taking Commissioner Pett with me. He was mighty serious with me in discourse about the consequence of Sir W. Petty's boat, as the most dangerous thing in the world, if it should be practised by endangering our losse of the command of the seas and our trade, while the Turkes and others shall get the use of them, which, without doubt, by bearing more sayle will go faster

¹ See 19th October, 1661. The book was very popular, and was therefore inveighed against by the Puritans of the time. (M. B.)

than any other ships, and, not being of burden, our merchants cannot have the use of them and so will be at the mercy of their enemies. So that I perceive he is afraid that the honour of his trade will down, though (which is a truth) he pretends this consideration to hinder the growth of this invention. He being gone my wife and I took coach and to Covent Garden, to buy a maske at the French House, Madame Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the streete full of coaches at the new play, "The Indian Queene;"¹ which for show, they say, exceeds Henry the Eighth. Called to see my brother Tom, but not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption, and will not live two months.

29th. At noon, by appointment, comes Mr. Hartlibb and his wife, and after shewing them my house and drinking they set out by water, my wife and I with them down to Wapping on board the "Crowne," a merchantman. Here was Vice-Admiral Goodson, whom the more I know the more I value for a serious man and staunch. Here was other sorry company and the discourse poor, so that we had no pleasure there at all, but only to see and bless God to find the difference that is now between our condition and that heretofore. After dinner I broke up and with my wife home and thence to the Fleece in Cornhill, by appointment, to meet my Lord Marlborough, a serious and worthy gentleman, who, after doing our business, about the company, began to talk of the state of the Dutch in India, which is like to be in a little time without any controll; for we are lost there, and the Portuguese as bad. Thence to the Coffee-house where good discourse, specially of Lt.-Coll. Baron touching the manners of the Turkes' Government, among whom he lived

¹ "The Indian Queen," a tragedy in heroic verse, by Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Dryden.

long. So to my uncle Wight's, where late playing at cards, and so home.

30th. Up, and a sorry sermon of a young fellow I knew at Cambridge; but the day kept solemnly for the King's murder. In the evening Mr. Commander came and we made perfect and signed and sealed my last will and testament, which is so to my mind and I hope to the liking of God Almighty, that I take great joy in myself that it is done, and by that means my mind in a good condition of quiett. This evening, being in a humour of making all things even and clear in the world, I tore some old papers; among others, a romance which (under the title of "Love a Cheate") I begun ten years ago at Cambridge; and reading it over to-night I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

31st (Lord's day). Up, and in my chamber all day long settling all my Brampton accounts to this day in very good order, I having obliged myself by oathe to do that and some other things within this month, and did also perfectly prepare a state of my estate and annexed it to my last will and testament, which now is perfect, and, lastly, I did make up my monthly accounts, and find that I have gained above 50*l.* this month clear, and so am worth 858*l.* clear, which is the greatest sum I ever yet was master of, and also read over my usual vowes, as I do every Lord's day, but with greater seriousness than ordinary. So to supper and to bed with my mind in mighty great ease and content, but my head very full of thoughts and business to dispatch this next month also, and among others to provide for answering to the Exchequer for my uncle's being Generall-Receiver in the year 1647, which I am at present wholly unable to do, but I must find time to look over all his papers.

February 1st. Up, and being ready I found Mr. Strutt the purser below with 12 bottles of sacke. I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through; one of them of the King's Chappell, one Cave, and the other a retayner of my Lord Generall Middleton's. Thence to White Hall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King came and stayed an houre or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there about his boat;¹ and at Gresham College in general; at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take oddes against the King's best boates; but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat. Thence to Westminster, and there met with diverse people, it being terme time. Here I met with Mr. Pierce, who tells me of several passages at Court, among others how the King, coming the other day to his Theatre to see "The Indian Queene" (which he commends for a very fine thing), my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he came; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York; which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as every body else, out of countenance;

¹ This vessel was lost in the Bay of Biscay in a storm. It was flat-bottomed, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of two distinct keels, cramped together with huge timbers, &c., so as that a violent stream ran between. See Evelyn's "Diary," 22nd March, 1674-75.
(M. B.)

and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. Thence with Alderman Maynell by his coach to the 'Change, and so home to dinner, and took my wife out immediately to the King's Theatre, it being a new month, and once a month I may go, and there saw "The Indian Queene" acted; which indeed is a most pleasant show, and beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the ryme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall¹ did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice not so sweet as Ianthe's;² but, however, we came home mightily contented. Here we met Mr. Pickering; and he tells me that the business runs high between the Chancellor and my Lord Bristoll against the Parliament; and that my Lord Lauderdale and Cooper open high against the Chancellor; which I am sorry for. In my way home I 'light and to the Coffee-house, where I heard Lt.-Coll. Baron tell very good stories of his travels over the high hills in Asia above the clouds, how clear the heaven is above

¹ Anne Marshall, a celebrated actress, and her youngest sister Becke, so frequently mentioned in the Diary, were, I believe, the daughters of a Presbyterian minister; but very little seems to be known about their history. One of them is erroneously stated, in the notes to the "*Mémoires de Grammont*," and Davies' "*Dramatic Miscellanies*," to have become Lord Oxford's mistress; for Mr. Pepys uniformly calls the Marshalls by their proper name, and only speaks of the other lady as "the first or old Roxalana, who had quitted the stage." *Vide Feb. 18, 1661-62, and Dec. 27, in the same year.*

² Malone says, in his "*History of the English Stage*," that Mrs. Mary Saunderson performed Ianthe in Davenant's play of the "*Siege of Rhodes*," at the first opening of his theatre, April, 1662. She married Betterton the following year, and lived till 1712, having filled almost all the female characters in Shakespeare with great success. It is probable, therefore, that she was the person alluded to here, and frequently mentioned afterwards, without any more particular designation.

them, how thicke like a mist the way is through the cloud that wets like a sponge one's clothes, the ground above the clouds all dry and parched, nothing in the world growing, it being only a dry earth, yet not so hot above as below the clouds. The stars at night most delicate bright and a fine clear blue sky, but cannot see the earth at any time through the clouds, but the clouds look like a world below you. This day W. Bowyer told me that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night; but he says he had not been drinking. He was taken with his stick in his hand and cloake over his shoulder, as ruddy as before he died. His horse was taken overnight in the water, hampered in the bridle, but they were so silly as not to look for his master till the next morning, that he was found drowned.

2nd. To the 'Change with Mr. Coventry, thence to the Coffee-house with Captain Cocke, who discoursed well of the good effects in some kind of a Dutch warr and conquest (which I did not consider before, but the contrary) that is, that the trade of the world is too little for us two, therefore one must down: 2ndly, that though our merchants will not be the better husbands by all this, yet our wool will bear a better price by vaunting of our cloths, and by that our tenants will be better able to pay rents, and our lands will be more worth, and all our owne manufactures, which now the Dutch outvie us in; that he thinks the Dutch are not in so good a condition as heretofore because of want of men always, and now from the warrs against the Turke more than ever. Then to the 'Change again, and thence off to the Sun Taverne with Sir W. Warren. He did give me a payre of gloves for my wife wrapt up in paper, which I would not open, feeling it hard; but did tell him that my wife should thank him, and so went on

in discourse. When I came home, Lord! in what pain I was to get my wife out of the room without bidding her go, that I might see what these gloves were; and, by and by, she being gone, it proves a payre of white gloves for her and forty pieces in good gold, which did so cheer my heart, that I could eat no victuals almost for dinner for joy to think how God do bless us every day more and more, and more yet I hope he will upon the increase of my duty and endeavours. I was at great losse what to do, whether to tell my wife of it or no, which I could hardly forbear, for fear of making her think me to be in a better condition, or in a better way of getting money, than yet I am.

3rd. To the Mitre Taverne by appointment, and there met by chance with W. Howe come to buy wine for my Lord against his going down to Hinchingbroke, and I private with him a great while discoursing of my Lord's strangeness to me; but he answers that I have no reason to think any such thing, but that my Lord is only in general a more reserved man than he was before. So home, where my wife is full of sad stories of her good-natured father and roguish brother, who is going for Holland and his wife, to be a soldier. This night late coming in my coach, coming up Ludgate Hill, I saw two gallants and their footmen taking a pretty wench, which I have much eyed, lately set up shop upon the hill, a seller of riband and gloves. They seemed to drag her by some force, but the wench went. In Covent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house¹ there, where I never was be-

¹ "We turn out of Bow Street into Russell Street. At the north-east corner of the two streets was the famous Will's coffee-house, formerly the Rose, where Dryden presided over the literature of the town; and on the other side of the way, on a part of the site of the present Hummums, stood Button's coffee-house, no

fore; where Dryden the poet (I knew at Cambridge), and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

4th. By coach to Paul's School, where I heard some good speeches of the boys that were to be elected this year. Thence by and by with Mr. Pullen and Barnes (a great Non-Conformist) with several others of my old acquaintance to the Nag's Head Taverne, and there did give them a bottle of sacke, and away again and I to the School, and up to hear the upper form examined; and there was kept by very many of the Mercers, Clutterbucke,¹ Barker, Harrington, and others; and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me, that in Dr. Colett's² will he says that he would have a Master found for the School that hath good skill in Latin, and (if it could be) one that had some knowledge of the Greeke; so little was Greeke known here at that time. Dr. Wilkins³ and one Mr. Smallwood, Posers.

5th. Up, and down by water, a brave morning, to Woolwich, and there spent an houre or two to good purpose, and so walked to Greenwich and thence to Deptford, and so by water home, all the way going

less celebrated as the resort of the wits and poets of the time of Queen Anne."—*The Town*, by Leigh Hunt. (M. B.)

¹ Probably Alderman Clutterbuck, one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for Middlesex. There was a Sir Thomas Clutterbuck of London, *circa* 1670.

² Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the School.

³ John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, and afterwards Dean of Ripon, consecrated Bishop of Chester 1668; ob. 1672. He was a learned theologian, and well versed in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

and coming reading "Faber Fortunæ," which I can never read too often. At home to look over some Brampton papers, and my uncle's accounts as Generall-Receiver of the County for 1647 of our monthly assessment, which, contrary to my expectation, I found in such good order that I did not expect, nor could have thought, and having seen discharges for every farthing of money he received, I went to bed late with great quiett.

6th. To the 'Change, where I met Mr. Coventry, the first time I ever saw him there, and after a little talke with him and other merchants, home, whither came one Father Fogourdy, an Irish priest, of my wife's and her mother's acquaintance in France, a sober, discreet person, but one that I would not have converse with my wife for fear of meddling with her religion, but I like the man well. He confirms to me the newes that for certain there is peace between the Pope and King of France.

7th (Lord's day). Up and to church, and thence home, and with great mirth read Sir W. Davehant's two speeches in dispraise of London and Paris, by way of reproach one to another, and so to prayers and to bed.

8th. Mr. Pierce told me largely how the King still do doat upon his women, even beyond all shame; and that the good Queene will of herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be, as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stewart; and that some of the best parts of the Queene's joynture are, contrary to faith, and against the opinion of my Lord Treasurer and his Council, bestowed or rented, I know not how, to my Lord FitzHarding and Mrs. Stewart, and others of that crew: that the King do doat infinitely upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently as one that he intends to have succeed

him. God knows what will be the end of it! Thence to Guildhall, thinking to have heard some pleading, but there were no Courts, and so to Cade's, the stationer, and there did look upon some pictures which he promised to give me the buying of, but I found he would have played the Jacke with me, but at last he did proffer me what I expected, and I have laid aside 10*l.* or 12*l.* worth, and will think of it, but I am loth to lay out so much money upon them.

9th. Great talke of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffick there to all ships but their owne, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the "Greyhound" and another, very rich, coming from the Streights, for fear of the Turkes. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France; so that now all the doubt is, what the French will do with their armies. Thence home, by and by comes Mr. Moore, with whom much good discourse of my Lord, and among other things told me that my Lord is mightily altered, that is, grown very high and stately, and do not admit of any to come into his chamber to him, as heretofore, and that I must not think much of his strangeness to me, for it was the same he do to every body. I discoursed with him about my money that my Lord hath, and the 1,000*l.* that I stand bound with him in, to my cozen Thomas Pepys, in both which I will get myself at liberty as soon as I can; for I do not like his being angry and in debt both together to me; and besides, I do not perceive he looks after paying his debts, but runs farther and farther in. He being gone, my wife and I did walk an houre or two above in our chamber, seriously talking of businesses. I told her my Lord owed me 700*l.*, and shewed her the bond, and how I intended to carry myself to my Lord. She and I

did cast about how to get Captain Grove for my sister, in which we are mighty earnest at present, and I think it would be a good match.

10th. Up, and by coach to my Lord Sandwich, to his new house, a fine house, but deadly dear, in Lincoln's Inne Fields, where I found and spoke a little to him. He is high and strange still, but did ask me how my wife did, and at parting remembered him to his cozen. Thence to the Temple, where my cozen Roger Pepys did show me a letter my Father wrote to him last Terme to shew me, proposing such things about Sturtlow and a portion for Pall, and I know not what, that vexes me to see him plotting how to put me to trouble and charge, and not thinking to pay our debts and legacys, but I will write him a letter will persuade him to be wiser. My wife abroad, after her coming home from being with my aunt Wight to buy Lent provisions. Homewards, calling a little at the Coffee-house, where a little merry discourse, and so home, where I found my wife and her brother. He is going this next tide with his wife into Holland to seek his fortune. I did give my wife 10s. to give him, and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied light-coloured cloth coat, with a gold edgeing in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best pettycoat that she had when I married her. My pain do leave me without coming to any great excesse, but my cold that I had got I suppose was not very great, it being only the leaving of my wastecoat unbuttoned one morning.

11th. To the office, and did much business, and some much to my content by prevailing against Sir W. Batten for the King's profit. At noon home to dinner, my wife and I hand to fist to a very fine pig. This noon Mr. Falconer came and visited my wife, and brought her a present, a silver state-cup and cover, value about 3*l.* or 4*l.*, for the courtesy I did

him the other day. I am almost sorry for this present, because I would have reserved him for a place to go in summer a-visiting at Woolwich with my wife.

12th. Up, and did find below Mr. Creed's boy with a letter from his master. So I fell to reading it and it is by way of stating the case between S. Pepys and J. Creed most excellently writ, reproaching me yet flattering me, and in a word in as good a manner as I think the world could have wrote. At noon by his appointment to the Coffee-house, where with great seriousness and strangeness on both sides he said his part and I mine, he sometimes owning my favour and assistance, yet endeavouring to lessen it; I to alledge the contrary, and plainly to tell him that from the beginning I never had it in my mind to do him all that kindnesse for nothing. Well, says he, I know you will expect since there must be some condescension, that it do become me to begin it and therefore, says he, I do propose (just like the interstice between the death of the old and the coming in of the present king, all the time is swallowed up as if it had never been) so our breach of friendship may be as if it had never been and that he would reckon himself obliged to show the same ingenuous acknowledgment of my love and service to him as at the beginning he ought to have done, before by my first letter I did (as he well observed) put him out of a capacity of doing it, without seeming to do it servilely, and so it rests. Thence called at Alderman Backewell's and there changed Mr. Falconer's state-cup, that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashion 5*l.* 16*s.*, and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us 17*s.*, both 6*l.* 13*s.*; for which we had the tankard, which came to 6*l.* 10*s.*, at 5*s.* 7*d.* per oz., and 3*s.* in money.

13th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House and there with Sir W. Rider by agreement we looked over part of my Lord Peterborough's accounts. Anon to dinner to a table which Mr. Coventry keeps here, out of his 300*l.* per annum as one of the Assistants to the Royall Company, a very pretty dinner, and good company, and excellent discourse. So took coach and to Reeves, the perspective glass maker, and there did indeed see very excellent microscopes, which did discover a louse or mite or sand most perfectly and largely. Being sated with that we went away and home with my wife and saw her day's work in ripping the silke standard, which we brought home last night, and it will serve to line a bed, or for twenty uses, to our great content. Wrote fair my angry letter to my father upon that that he wrote to my cozen Roger Pepys, which I hope will make him the more carefull to trust to my advice for the time to come without so many needless complaints and jealousys which are troublesome to me because without reason.

14th (Lord's day). Up and to church alone, where a lazy sermon of Mr. Mills, upon a text to introduce catechizing in his parish, which I perceive he intends to begin.

15th. To White Hall, to the Duke; where he first put on a periwig to-day; but methought his hair cut short in order thereto did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwig. Great newes of the arrivall of two rich ships, the Greyhound and another, which they were mightily afeard of, and great insurance given, and so home to dinner, and after an houre with my wife at her globes, I to the office where very busy till 11 at night and so home to supper and to bed. This afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlin¹ came to the office to me, and showed

¹ Son of William Chamberlayne, an English Judge, and created a Baronet 1642.

me several letters from the East Indys, showing the height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all the English, even in our only Factory there of Surat, beating several men, and hanging the English Standard St. George under the Dutch flagg in scorn ; saying, that whatever their masters do or say at home, they will do what they list, and will be masters of all the world there ; and have so proclaimed themselves Sovereaigne of all the South Seas ; which certainly our King cannot endure, if the Parliament will give him money. But I doubt and yet do hope they will not yet, till we are more ready for it.

16th. At noon to the 'Change a little and thence brought Mr. Barrow to dinner with me, where I had a haunch of venison roasted and so had a pretty dinner. He being gone I to the office where very busy till night. To my Vvall a little, which I have not done some months, I think, before.

17th. With my wife, setting her down by her father's in Long Acre, in so ill looked a place, among all the brothels, that I was troubled at it, to see her go thither. Thence I to White Hall and there walked up and down talking with Mr. Pierce, who tells me of the King's giving of my Lord FitzHarding two leases which belong indeed to the Queene, worth 20,000*l.* to him ; and how people do talk of it. Home, and dined, where I found an excellent mastiffe, his name Towser, sent me by a chyrurgeon. After dinner I took my wife again by coach (leaving Creed by the way going to Gresham College, of which he is now become one of the virtuosos) and to White Hall, where I delivered a paper about Tangier to my Lord Duke of Albemarle in the council chamber. At my office till 3 in the morning, having spent much time this evening in discourse with Mr. Cutler who tells me how the Dutch

deal with us abroad and do not value us any where. He being gone Sir W. Rider came and staid with me about understanding the measuring of Mr. Wood's masts, and out of an impatience to breake up with my head full of confused confounded notions, but nothing brought to a clear comprehension I was resolved to sit up and did till now it is ready to strike 4 o'clock, all alone, cold, and my candle not enough left to light me to my owne house, and so. with my business however brought to some good understanding, I went home to bed weary, sleepy, cold, and my head akeing.

19th. Mr. Cutler came, and walked and talked with me a great while; and then to the 'Change together; and it being early, did tell me several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their great diligence and saving; as also his owne fortune, and how credit grew upon him; that when he was not really worth 1,100*l.*, he had credit for 100,000*l.*: of Sir W. Rider how he rose; and others. By and by joyned with us Sir John Banks;¹ who told us several passages of the East India Company; and how in his very case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing. Took my wife; and taking a coach, went to visit my Ladys Jemimah and Paulina Montagu, and Mrs. Elizabeth Pickering,² whom we find at their father's new house in Lincolne's Inn Fields; but the house all in dirt. They received us

¹ An opulent merchant, residing in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

² Lord Sandwich's niece.

well enough ; but I did not endeavour to carry myself over familiarly with them ; and so after a little stay, there coming in presently after us my Lady Aberguenny¹ and other ladies, we back again by coach. To Mr. Jaggard's, where a very good supper and great store of plate and above all after supper Mrs. Jaggard did at my entreaty play on the Vvall, but so well as I did not think any woman in England could and but few Maisters, I must confess it did mightily surprise me. My aunt tells me they are counted very rich people, worth at least 10 or 12,000*l.*, and their country house all the yeare long and all things liveable, which mightily surprises me to think for how poore a man I took him when I did him the courtesy at our office.

20th. At noon to the 'Change with Mr. Coventry and after dinner by a gally down to Woolwich and so walked to Greenwich, it being a very fine evening and brought night home with me by water.

21st. Spent all the morning drawing up a letter to Mr. Coventry about preserving of masts. To my uncle's to supper. So home to prayers and to bed. My wife called up the people to washing by four o'clock in the morning ; and our little girle Susan is a most admirable slut and pleases us mightily, doing more service than both the others and deserves wages better.

22nd. To White Hall ward and so to a picture-sellers by the Half Moone and there looked over the maps of several cities and did buy two books of cities stitched together cost me 9*s.* 6*d.*, and when I came home thought of my vowe, and paid 5*s.* into my poore box for it, hoping in God that I shall forfeit no more in that kind. To the Exchange and there found my wife at pretty Doll's, and thence by

¹ Probably Mary, daughter of Thomas Gifford, Esq., of Dunton Walet, Essex, wife to George, ninth Lord Abergavenny.

coach set her to go with my aunt to market against Lent and I to the 'Change, my chief business being to enquire about the manner of other countries keeping of their masts wet or dry and got good advice about it. This evening came Mr. Alsopp the King's brewer, with whom I spent an houre talking and bewailing the posture of things at present; the King led away by half-a-dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. These are Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, FitzHarding, (to whom he hath, it seems, given 12,000*l.* per annum in the best part of the King's estate); and that that the old Duke of Buckingham could never get of the King. Progers¹ is another, and Sir H. Bennett. He loves not the Queene at all, but is rather sullen to her; and she, by all reports, incapable of children. He is so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that every body admires it; and he says that the Duke hath said, that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother: though Alsopp says, it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the King was acquainted with her. But it seems, he says that the King is mighty kind to these his bastard children; and at this day will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms: that he is not likely to have his tables up again in his house, for the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves. He hath this night, it seems, ordered that the Hall (which there is a ball to be in to-night before the King) be guarded, as the Queene-Mother's is, by his Horse Guards; whereas heretofore they

¹ Edward Progers, Esq., the King's Valet-de-Chambre, and the confidant of his amours. Ob. 1713, aged 96.
See Grammont's Memoirs. (M. B.)

were by the Lord Chamberlain or Steward, and their people. But it is feared they will reduce all to the soldiery, and all other places be taken away; and what is worst of all, that he will alter the present militia, and bring all to a flying army. That my Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's¹ enemy, and one that scorns the Chancellor even to open affronts before the King, hath got the whole power of Scotland into his hand; whereas the other day he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate, and honour, and life, voted away from him. That the King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the business of my Lord Antrim,² in Ireland; who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he by his letter owns to have acted by his father's and mother's, and his commissions; but it seems the truth is, he hath obliged himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queene-Mother's (by my Lord Germin,³ I suppose,) in marriage, be it to whom the Queene pleases; which is a sad story. It seems a daughter of the Duke of Lenox's was, by force, going to be married the other day at Somerset House, to Harry Germin; but she got away and run to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them! There was a French book in verse, the other day, translated and presented to the Duke of Monmouth in such a high stile, that the Duke of York, he tells me, was mightily offended at it. The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother hath a place at Court; and being a Welchman (I think he told me), will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister. The King did the other day, at the Council, commit my

¹ John, Earl of Middleton, General of the Forces in Scotland.

² Randall, second Earl and first Marquis of Antrim. Ob. 1673.

³ The Earl of St. Albans.

Lord Digby's¹ chaplin, and steward, and another servant, who went upon the process begun there against their lord, to swear that they saw him at church, and receive the Sacrament as a Protestant, (which, the Judges said, was sufficient to prove him such in the eye of the law); the King, I say, did commit them all to the Gate-house, notwithstanding their pleading their dependance upon him, and the faith they owed him as their lord, whose bread they eat. And that the King should say, that he would soon see whether he was King, or Digby. That the Queene-Mother hath outrun herself in her expences, and is now come to pay very ill, or run in debt; the money being spent that she received for leases. He believes there is not any money laid up in bank, as I told him some did hope; but he says, from the best informers he can assure me there is no such thing, nor any body that should look after such a thing; and that there is not now above 80,000*l.* of the Dunkirke money left in stock. That Oliver in the year when he spent 1,400,000*l.* in the Navy, did spend in the whole expence of the kingdom 2,600,000*l.* That all the Court are mad for a Dutch war; but both he and I did concur, that it was a thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for; unless by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided. That our Ambassador had, it is true, an audience; but in the most dishonourable way that could be; for the Princes of the Blood (though invited by our Ambassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever

¹ George, Lord Digby, second Earl of Bristol, who had been Secretary of State in 1643; but by changing his religion while abroad, at the instigation of Don John of Austria, incapacitated himself from being restored to that office; and in consequence of the disappointment, which he imputed to the interference of the Lord Chancellor, conspired and effected his ruin. He was installed K. G. in 1661, and died 1676.

Embassador committed these 400 years) were not there; and so were not said to give place to our King's Embassador. And that our King did openly say, the other day in the Privy Chamber, that he would not be hector'd out of his right and pre-eminencys by the King of France, as great as he was. That the Pope is glad to yield to a peace with the French (as the newes-book says), upon the basest terms that ever was. That the talke which these people about our King, that I named before, have, is to tell him how neither privilege of Parliament nor City is any thing; but that his will is all, and ought to be so: and their discourse, it seems, when they are alone, is so base and sordid, that it makes the eares of the very gentlemen of the back-stairs (I think he called them) to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing; and that must be very bad indeed. That my Lord Digby did send to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the match, as to the point of his knowing before-hand that the Queene was not capable of bearing children; and that something was given her to make her so. But as private as they were, when they came thither they were clapped up prisoners. That my Lord Digby endeavours what he can to bring the business into the House of Commons, hoping there to master the Chancellor, there being many enemies of his there; but I hope the contrary. That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon¹ to somebody for 20,000*l.*, and this to have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor, whose title of Earldome is fetched from thence; the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seale for the payment of this 20,000*l.* to my Lord Chan-

¹ Clarendon Park, near Salisbury.

cellor, to clear the mortgage. Ireland in a very distracted condition about the hard usage which the Protestants meet with, and the too good which the Catholics. And from altogether, God knows my heart, I expect nothing but ruine can follow, unless things are better ordered in a little time.

23rd. This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world; and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in every thing, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world, than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it!

24th (Ash-Wednesday). To the Queene's chappell, where I staid and saw their masse, till a man came and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chappell, where Monsieur d'Espagne¹ used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crouded than the Queene's chappell at St. James's; which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which in every respect will be mighty magnificent and costly. I staid a great while talking with a man in the garden that was sawing of a piece of marble, and did give him 6*l.* to drink. He told me much of the nature and labour of the worke, how he could not saw above 4 inches of the stone in a day, and of a greater not above one or two, and after it is sawed, then it is rubbed with coarse and then with finer and finer sand till they come to putty, and so polish it as smooth as glass. Their saws have no teeth, but it

¹ Probably author of a small volume called "Shibboleth, ou, Reformation de quelques Passages de la Bible, par Jean d'Espagne; Ministre du St. Evangile," in the Pepysian Collection, printed 1653, and dedicated to Cromwell.

is the sand only which the saw rubs up and down that do the thing. Thence by water to the Coffee-house, and there sat with Alderman Barker talking of hempe and the trade, and so home and dined with my wife, and then to the office till the evening, and then walked a while merrily with my wife in the garden, and so she gone, I to work again till late.

25th. To my Lord's, and saw the young ladies, and talked a little with them, and thence to White Hall. Resolved of going to meet my Lord to-morrow, having got a horse of Mr. Coventry to-day.

26th. Up, and after dressing myself handsomely for riding, I out, and by water to Westminster, to Mr. Creed's chamber, and after drinking some chocolate, and playing on the vyall, Mr. Mallard being there, upon Creed's new vyall, which proves, methinks, much worse than mine, we set out from an inne hard by, whither Mr. Coventry's horse was carried, and round about the bush through bad ways to Highgate. Good discourse in the way had between us, and it being a most admirable pleasant day, we, upon consultation, had stopped at the Cocke, a mile on this side Barnett, being unwilling to put ourselves to the charge or doubtful acceptance of any provision against my Lord's coming by, and there got something and dined, setting a boy to look towards Barnett Hill, against their coming; and after two or three false alarms, they come, and we met the coach very gracefully, and I had a kind receipt from both Lord and Lady as I could wish, and some kind discourse, and then rode by the coach a good way, and so fell to discoursing with several of the people, there being a dozen attending the coach, and another for the mayds and parson. Among others talking with W. Howe, he told me how my Lord in his hearing the other day did largely tell my Lord Peterborough and Povy how and when he discarded Creed, and

took me to him, and that since the Duke of York has several times thanked him for me, which did not a little please me. But when we came to my Lord's house, I went in; and whether it was my Lord's neglect, or general indifference, I know not, but he made me no kind of compliment there; and, methinks, the young ladies look somewhat highly upon me. So I went away without bidding adieu to anybody, being desirous not to be thought too servile.

27th. At noon with Mr. Coventry to the African house, and to my Lord Peterborough's business again, and then to dinner, where, before dinner, we had the best oysters I have seen this year. Great, good company at dinner, among others Sir Martin Noell, who told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company, whether callicos be linnen or no; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so: they say it is made of cotton woole, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hempe. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict. Thence home, and had a very pleasing and condescending answer from my poor father in answer to my angry discontentful letter to him the other day, which pleases me mightily.

28th (Lord's day). Up and walked to Paul's; and by chance it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the Students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent. Abundance there was of Students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the Church mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon upon these words: "But the wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable." Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the Quire, the worst that ever I heard.

But what was extraordinary, the Bishop of London,¹ who sat there in a pew, made a purpose for him by the pulpitt, do give the last blessing to the congregation; which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing, methought. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. I did go and dine with him, his ordinary table being very good, and his lady a very high-carriaged but comely big woman; I was mightily pleased with her. No discourse at table to any purpose, only after dinner my Lady would needs see a boy which was represented to her to be an innocent country boy brought up to towne a day or two ago, and left here to the wide world, and he losing his way fell into the Tower, which my Lady believes, and takes pity on him, and will keep him; but though a little boy and but young, yet he tells his tale so readily and answers all questions so wittily, that for certain he is an arch rogue, and bred in this towne; but my Lady will not believe it, but ordered victuals to be given him, and I think will keep him as a footboy for their eldest son. After dinner to chappell in the Tower with the Lieutenant, with the keyes carried before us, and the Warders and Gentleman-porter going before us. And I sat with the Lieutenant in his pew, in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there. Home, and by and by to Sir W. Pen, and staid a while talking with him about Sir J. Minnes his folly in his office, of which I am sicke and weary to speak of it, and how the King is abused in it, though Pen, I know, offers the discourse only like a rogue to get it out of me, but I am very free to tell my mind to

¹ Humphrey Henchman, translated from Salisbury, September, 1663. Ob. 1675.

him, in that case being not unwilling he should tell him again or any body else. Thence home, and walked in the garden by brave moonshine with my wife above two hours, then to supper, and after prayers to bed.

29th. To Sir Philip Warwick, who showed me indeed many excellent collections of the State of the Revenue in former Kings and the late times, and the present. He showed me how the very Assessments between 1643 and 1659, which were taxes (besides Excise, Customes, Sequestrations, Decimations, King and Queene's and Church Lands, or any thing else but just the Assessments), come to above fifteen millions. He showed me a discourse of his concerning the Revenues of this and foreign States. How that of Spayne was great, but divided with his kingdoms, and so came to little. How that of France did, and do much exceed ours before for quantity; and that it is at the will of the Prince to tax what he will upon his people; which is not here. That the Hollanders have the best manner of tax, which is only upon the expence of provisions, by an excise; and do conclude that no other tax is proper for England but a pound-rate, or excise upon the expence of provisions. He showed me every particular sort of payment away of money, since the King's coming in, to this day; and told me, from one to one, how little he hath received of profit from most of them; and I believe him truly. That the 1,200,000*l.* which the Parliament with so much ado did first vote to give the King, and since hath been re-examined by several committees of the present Parliament, is yet above 300,000*l.* short of making up really to the King the 1,200,000*l.* as by particulars he showed me. And in my Lord Treasurer's excellent letter to the King upon this subject, he tells the King how it was the spending more than the revenue that did give

the first occasion of his father's ruine, and did since to the rebels; who, he says, just like Henry the Eighth, had great and sudden increase of wealth, but yet, by overspending, both died poor; and further tells the King how much of this 1,200,000*l.* depends upon the life of the Prince, and so must be renewed by Parliament again to his successor; which is seldom done without parting with some of the prerogatives of the Crowne; or if denied and he persists to take it of the people, it gives occasion to a civill war, which may, as it did in the late business of tonnage and poundage prove fatal to the Crowne. He showed me how many ways the Lord Treasurer did take before he moved the King to farme the Customes in the manner he do, and the reasons that moved him to do it. He showed me a very excellent argument to prove, that our importing lesse than we export, do not impoverish the kingdom, according to the received opinion: which, though it be a paradox, and that I do not remember the argument, yet methought there was a great deale in what he said. And upon the whole I find him a most exact and methodicall man, and of great industry: and very glad that he thought fit to show me all this; though I cannot easily guess the reason why he should do it to me, unless from the plainness that he sees I use to him in telling him how much the King may suffer for our want of understanding the case of our Treasury. Thence to White Hall, and before the Duke did our usual business, and then out to the Mewes with Sir W. Pen. At the Mewes Sir W. Pen and Mr. Baxter did shew me several good horses, but Pen, which Sir W. Pen did give the Duke of York, was given away by the Duke the other day to a Frenchman, which Baxter is cruelly vexed at, saying that he was the best horse that he expects a great while to have to do with. Thence homewards, and in my way did

stay to look upon a house on fire in an Inneyard in Lumbard Streete. But, Lord! to see how the mercers and merchants who had warehouses there did carry away their cloths and silks. But at last it was quenched, and I home to dinner, and after dinner carried my wife and set her and her two mayds in Fleete Streete to buy things, and I to White Hall. Thence by water to Salsbury Court, and found my wife, by agreement, at Mrs. Turner's. Got home before our mayds, who by and by came with a great cry and fright that they had like to have been killed by a coach; but, Lord! to see how Jane did tell the story like a foole and a dissembling fanatique, like her grandmother, but so like a changeling,¹ would make a man laugh to death almost, and yet be vexed to hear her. By and by to the office to make up my monthly accounts, and to my great content find myself worth eight hundred and ninety and odd pounds, the greatest sum I ever yet knew, and so with a heart at great ease to bed.

March 1st. At noon to the 'Change, and after much business and meeting my uncle Wight, who told me how Mr. Maes had like to have been trappanned yesterday, but was forced to run for it; so with Creed home to dinner, and after a good and pleasant dinner, I took Mr. Creed and my wife and down to Deptford, and there till night discoursing with the officers, and so walked home by moonshine, it being mighty pleasant.

¹ The fairies were supposed to steal the most beautiful and witty children, and leave in their places such as were ugly and stupid. These were usually called *changelings*.

"From thence a faery thee unweeting reft,
There as thou slept in tender swaddling band,
And her base elfin brood there for thee left:
Such men do *chaungelings* call, so chaung'd by faeries theft."
SPENSER, *Faery Queen*, i. 65. (M. B.)

2nd. Up, my eye mightily out of order with the Rheum that is fallen down into it. Calling at St. Paul's Churchyard, there looked upon a pretty burlesque poem, called "Scarronides, or Virgile Travesty;"¹ extraordinary good. After dinner my wife cut my hair short, which is growne pretty long again. This afternoon we had a good present of tongues and bacon from Mr. Shales, of Portsmouth. This morning Mr. Burgby, one of the writing clerks belonging to the Council, a knowing man, complains to me how most of the Lords of the Council do look after themselves and their own ends, and none the publique, unless Sir Edward Nicholas. Sir G. Carteret is diligent, but all for his own ends and profit. My Lord Privy Seale, a destroyer of every body's business, and do no good at all to the publique. The Archbishop of Canterbury² speaks very little, nor do much, being now come to the highest pitch that he can expect. He tells me, he believes that things will go very high against the Chancellor by Digby, and that bad things will be proved. Talks much of his neglecting the King; and making the King to trot every day to him, when he is well enough to go to visit his cozen Chief-Justice Hide, but not to the Council or King. He commends my Lord of Ormond mightily in Ireland; but cries out cruelly of Sir G. Lane for his corruption; and that he hath done my Lord great dishonour by selling of places here, which are now all taken away, and the poor wretches ready to starve. That nobody almost understands or judges of business better than the King, if he would not be guilty of his father's fault to be doubtfull of himself, and easily be removed from his own opinion. That my Lord Lauderdale is never

¹ By Charles Cotton. He published also the "Wonders of the Peak in Derbyshire" and "Lucian Burlesqued." (M. B.)

² Gilbert Sheldon.

from the King's care nor council, and that he is a most cunning fellow. Upon the whole, that he finds things go very bad every where; and even in the Council nobody minds the publique.

3rd. To the office, where we sat all the morning making a very great contract with Sir W. Warren for provisions for the yeare coming. My wife and I out of doors thinking to have gone to have seen a play, but when we came to take coach, they tell us there are none this week, being the first of Lent. But, Lord! to see how impatient I found myself within to see a play, I being at liberty once a month to see one.

4th. To my Lord Sandwich, with whom I spoke, walking a good while with him in his garden, which and the house is very fine, talking of my Lord Peterborough's accounts, wherein he is concerned both for the foolery as also inconvenience which may happen upon my Lord Peterborough's ill-stating of his matters, so as to have his gaine discovered unnecessarily. We did talk long and freely that I hope the worst is past and all will be well. There were several people trying a new-fashion gun¹ brought my Lord this morning, to shoot off often, one after another, without trouble or danger. Thence to Woolwich, and at Greenwich I observed the foundation laying of a very great house for the King, which will cost a great deale of money. To White Hall, and there being met by the Duke of York, he called me to him and discoursed a pretty while with me about the new ship's dispatch building at Woolwich, and talking of the charge did say that he finds always the best the most cheape, instancing in French guns, which in France you may buy for 4 pistoles, as good to look to

¹ A specimen of an early revolver. See Diary, July 3rd, 1662. I recollect seeing an ancient one at Dresden formerly. (M. B.)

as others of 16, but not the service. I never had so much discourse with the Duke before, and till now did ever fear to meet him. Thence to my Lord's, and took up my wife, whom my lady has received with her old good nature and kindnesse. After a dish of coffee home, and at my office a good while, and then to supper, my wife and I had a good fowle, and then I to the office again and so home, my mind in great ease to think of our coming to so good a respect with my Lord again, and my Lady, and that my Lady do so much cry up my father's usage of her children, and the goodness of the ayre there, found in the young ladies' faces at their return thence, as she says, as also my being put into the commission of the Fishery, for which I must give my Lord thanks.

5th. To the office, where, though I had a great cold, I was forced to speak much upon a publique meeting of the East India Company, at our office; where was also my Lord George Barkeley, in behalfe of the company of merchants. I suppose he is on that company, who, hearing my name, took notice of me, and condoled my cozen Edward Pepys's death, not knowing whose son I was, nor did demand it of me. We broke up without coming to any conclusion, for want of my Lord Marlborough. I to the 'Change, where to drink a dish of coffee, and so home to dinner, and then to the office all the afternoon.

6th (Lord's day). Up, and my cold continuing in great extremity I could not go out to church, but sat all day till night drawing up a second letter to Mr. Coventry about the measure of masts to my great satisfaction.

7th. My wife and I by coach to the Duke's house, where we saw "The Unfortunate Lovers;"¹ but I

¹ A tragedy by Sir W. Davenant, licensed 1638, printed 1643. (M. B.)

know not whether I am grown more curious than I was or no, but I was not much pleased with it, though I know not where to lay the fault, unless it was that the house was very empty, by reason of a new play at the other house. Yet here was my Lady Castlemaine in a box, and it was pleasant to hear an ordinary lady hard by us, that it seems did not know her before, say, being told who she was, that "she was well enough."

8th. Up with some little discontent with my wife upon her saying that she had got and used some puppy-dog water, being put upon it by a desire of my Aunt Wight to get some for her, who has a mind, unknown to her husband, to get some for her ugly face. I to the office, where we sat all the morning, doing not much business through the multitude of counsellors, one hindering another. Luellin came and dined with me, but we made no long stay at dinner; for "*Heraclius*"¹ being acted, which my wife and I have a mighty mind to see, we do resolve though not exactly agreeing with the letter of my vowe, yet altogether with the sense, to see another this month, by going hither instead of that at Court there having been none conveniently since I made my vowe; besides we did walk home on purpose to make this going as cheap as that would have been. to have seen one at Court, and my conscience knows that it is only the saving of money and the time also that I intend by my oaths, and this has cost no more of either, so that my conscience before God do after good consultation and resolution of paying my forfeit, did my conscience accuse me of breaking my vowe, I do not find myself in the least apprehensive that I have done any violence to my oaths. The play hath one very good passage well managed, about two persons pretending, and yet denying themselves, to be son

¹ A translation from Corneille. (M. B.)

to the tyrant Phocas, and yet heir of Mauricius to the crowne. The garments like Romans very well. The little girle¹ is come to act very prettily, and spoke the epilogue most admirably. But at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtain, there was the finest scene of the Emperor and his people about him, standing in their fixed and different postures in their Roman habitts, above all that ever I yet saw at any of the theatres. Walked home, calling to see my brother Tom, who is in bed, and I doubt very ill of a consumption.

10th. To dinner with my wife, to a good hog's harslet,² a piece of meat I love, but have not eat of these seven years. At the Privy Seale I enquired, and found the Bill come for the Corporation of the Royall Fishery; whereof the Duke of York is made present Governor, and several other very great persons, to the number of thirty-two, made his assistants for their lives: whereof, by my Lord Sandwich's favour, I am one; and take it not only as a matter of honour, but that, that may come to be of profit to me.

12th. To the office where busy till noon, vexed to see how Sir J. Minnes deserves rather to be pitied for his dotage and folly than employed at a great salary to ruin the King's business.

14th. Up, and walked to my brother's, where I find he has continued talking idle all night and now knows me not, which troubles me mightily. Thence to White Hall; and in the Duke's chamber, while he was dressing, two persons of quality that were there did tell his Royal Highnesse how the other night, in Holborne, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy came by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-falling. Upon this the

¹ Her dancing is mentioned 23rd February, 1662-3. (M. B.)
The inside; pluck, fry, &c. (M. B.)

whole family was frightened, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire : so they left their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcony, but it was not open ; the other went up to fetch down his children, that were in bed ; so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom. It seems my Lord Southampton's canaille did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it came ; which, in every respect, is a most extraordinary passage. Thence home, where my wife and I fell out about my not being willing to have her have her gowne laced, but would lay out the same money and more on a plain new one. At this she flounced away in a manner I never saw her, nor which I could ever endure. So I away to the office, though she had dressed herself to go see my Lady Sandwich. She by and by in a rage follows me, and coming to me tells me in spitefull manner like a vixen and with a look full of rancour that she would go buy a new one and lace it and make me pay for it, and then let me burn it if I would after she had done it, and so went away in fury. This vexed me cruelly, but being very busy I had not hand to give myself up to consult what to do in it, but anon, I suppose after she saw that I did not follow her, she came again to the office, where I made her stay, being busy with another, half an houre, and her stomach¹ coming down we were presently friends, and so after my business being over at the office we out and by coach to my Lady Sandwich's with whom I left my wife and I to my brother's. The doctors give him over and so do all

¹ Pride.

“ He was a man
Of an unbounded *stomach*, ever ranking
Himself with princes.”

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry VIII.* act iv. sc. 2. (M. B.)

that see him. He talks no sense two words together now ; and I confess it made me weepe to see that he should not be able, when I asked him, to say who I was. The business between my Lords Chancellor and Bristoll, they say, is hushed up ; and the latter gone or going, by the King's licence, to France.

15th. My poor brother Tom died. I left my wife to see him laid out, and I by coach home carrying my brother's papers, all I could find, with me.

16th. Up, and down to my cozen Stradwick's and uncle Fenner's about discoursing for the funeral, which I am resolved to put off till Friday next. To my brother's to look after things, and saw the coffin brought ; and by and by Mrs. Holden came and saw him nailed up. This day the Parliament met again, after a long prorogation, but what they have done I have not been in the way to hear.

17th. Up and to my brother's where all the morning doing business against to-morrow. So to the office, where we sat this afternoon, having changed this day our sittings from morning to afternoon, because of the Parliament which returned yesterday ; but was adjourned till Monday next, upon pretence that many of the members were said to be upon the road ; and also the King had other affairs, and so desired them to adjourn till then. But the truth is, the King is offended at my Lord of Bristoll, as they say, whom he hath found to have been all this while (pretending a desire of leave to go into France, and to have all the difference between him and the Chancellor made up,) endeavouring to make factions in both Houses to the Chancellor. So the King did this to keep the Houses from meeting ; and in the meanwhile sent a guard and a herald last night to have taken him at Wimbleton, where he was in the morning, but could not find him : at which the King was and is still mightily concerned, and runs up and

down to and from the Chancellor's like a boy : and it seems would make Digby's articles against the Chancellor to be treasonable reflections against his Majesty. So that the King is very high, as they say ; and God knows what will follow upon it ! After office I to my brother's again, preparing things against to-morrow ; and this night I have altered my resolution of burying him in the churchyarde among my young brothers and sisters, and bury him in the church, in the middle isle, as near as I can to my mother's pew. This costs me 20s. more. Home by coach, bringing my brother's silver tankard for safety along with me.

18th. Up betimes, and walked to my brother's where a great while putting things in order against anon ; and so to Wotton, my shoemaker, and there got a pair of shoes blacked on the soles against anon for me ; so to my brother's and to the church, and with the grave-maker chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombes are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, (as his owne words were,) " I will justle them together but I will make room for him ; " speaking of the fulness of the middle isle, where he was to lie ; and that he would for my father's sake, do my brother that is dead all the civility he can ; which was to disturb other corps that are not quite rotten, to make room for him ; and methought his manner of speaking it was very remarkable ; as of a thing that now was in his power to do a man a courtesy or not. At noon my wife comes, and back with me, where I dressed myself. and so did my servant Besse ; and so to my brother's again : whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they came not till four or five. But at last one after another they came, many more than I bid : and my reckoning that I bid was one

hundred and twenty ; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits a-piece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cosen Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above ; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But above all, I am beholden to Mrs. Holden, who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and every thing else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think ; the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the streete to the Conduit, and so across the streete, and had a very good company along with the corps. And being come to the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for buriall : and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave ; and so all broke up ; and I and my wife and Madam Turner and her family to my brother's, and by and by fell to a barrell of oysters, cake, and cheese, of Mr. Honiwood's, with him, in his chamber and below, being too merry for so late a sad work. But, Lord ! to see how the world makes nothing of the memory of a man, an houre after he is dead ! And, indeed, I must blame myself ; for though at the sight of him dead and dying, I had real grief for a while, while he was in my sight, yet presently after, and ever since, I have had very little grief indeed for him.

19th. My wife and I alone, having a good hen, with eggs, to dinner, with great content. Then to my brother's, where I spent the afternoon in paying some of the charges of the buriall, and in looking over his papers, among which I find several letters of my brother John to him speaking very foule words

of me and my deportment to him here, and very crafty designs about Sturtlow land and God knows what. Anon my father and my brother John came to towne by coach. He, poor man, very sad and sickly.

20th (Lord's day). We lay talking among other things of religion, wherein I am sorry so often to hear my wife talk of her being and resolving to die a Catholique, and indeed a small matter, I believe, would absolutely turn her, which I am sorry for.

21st. By and by my father came, poor man, to me, and my brother John. After much talke and taking them up to my chamber, I did there after some discourse bring in my business of anger with John, and did before my father read all his roguish letters, which troubled my father mightily, especially to hear me say what I did, against my allowing any thing for the time to come to him out of my owne purse, and other words very severe, while he, like a simple rogue, made very silly and churlish answers to me, not like a man of any goodness or witt, at which I was as much disturbed as the other, and will be as good as my word in making him to his cost know that I will remember his carriage to me in this particular the longest day I live. It troubled me to see my poor father so troubled, whose good nature did make him, poor wretch, to yield, I believe, to comply with my brother Tom and him in part of their designs. They dined with me and after dinner abroad with my wife and I to the office. This day the Houses of Parliament met; and the King met them, with the Queene with him. And he made a speech to them: among other things, discoursing largely of the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom; and that the dissatisfied party had great hopes upon the effect of the Act for a Triennial Parliament granted by his father, which he de-

sired them to peruse, and, I think, repeal. So the Houses did retire to their own House, and did order the Act to be read to-morrow before them; and I suppose it will be repealed, though I believe much against the will of a good many that sit there.

23rd. To the Trinity House, and there dined very well: and good discourse among the old men of Islands now and then rising and falling again in the Sea, and that there is many dangers of grounds and rocks that come just up to the edge almost of the sea, that are never discovered and ships perish without the world's knowing the reason of it. Among other things, they observed, that there are but two seamen in the Parliament, viz. Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Penn, and not above twenty or thirty merchants; which is a strange thing in an island, and no wonder that things of trade go no better nor are better understood. Thence home, in the evening my Lady Jemimah, Paulina, and Madam Pickering come to see us, but my wife would not be seen, being unready.¹ Very merry with them; they mightily talking of their thrifty living for a fortnight before their mother came to towne, and other such simple talke, and of their merry life at Brampton, at my father's, this winter.

24th. Called up by my father, poor man, coming to advise with me about Tom's house and other matters, and he being gone I down by water to Greenwich and did much business and so to Woolwich and Deptford and did the like there, and then walked to Redriffe, calling and eating a bit of collops and eggs at Halfway house.

25th (Lady Day). To White Hall, and there to chappell; where it was most infinite full to hear Dr. Critton.² Being not knowne, some great persons in

¹ *i. e.* Undressed. See note, 12th October, 1662. (M. B.)

² Creighton. See 7th March, 1661-62. (M. B.)

the pew I pretended to, and went in, did question my coming in. I told them my pretence; so they turned to the orders of the chappell, which hung behind upon the wall, and read it, and were satisfied; but they did not demand whether I was in waiting or no; and so I was in some fear lest he that was in waiting might come and betray me. The Doctor preached upon the thirty-first of Jeremy, and the twenty-first and twenty-second verses, about a woman compassing a man; meaning the Virgin conceiving and bearing our Saviour. It was the worst sermon I ever heard him make, I must confess; and yet it was good, and in two places very bitter, advising the King to do as the Emperor Severus did, to hang up a Presbyter John (a short coat and a long gowne interchangeably) in all the Courts of England. But the story of Severus was pretty, that he hanged up forty senators before the Senate-house, and then made a speech presently to the Senate in praise of his owne lenity; and then decreed that never any senator after that time should suffer in the same manner without consent of the Senate: which he compared to the proceeding of the Long Parliament against my Lord Strafford. He said the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the Bishoppes, their powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought. He told the King and the ladies plainly, speaking of death and of the skulls and bones of dead men and women, how there is no difference; that nobody could tell that of the great Marius or Alexander from a pyioneer; nor, for all the pains the ladies take with their faces, he that should look in a charnel-house could not distinguish which was Cleopatra's, or fair Rosamond's, or Jane Shore's. With my wife to see my father and discourse how he finds Tom's

matters which he do very ill, and that he finds him to have been so negligent, that he used to trust his servants with cutting out of clothes, never hardly cutting out any thing himself; and, by the abstract of his accounts, we find him to owe above 290*l.*, and to be coming to him under 200*l.* Thence home with my wife on foot and bought some fowle in Gracious Streete and some oysters against our feast to-morrow.

26th. To my office, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts for Tangier, wherein we proceeded a good way; but, Lord! to see how ridiculous Mr. Povy is in all he says or do; like a man not more fit for to be in such employments as he is, and particularly that of Treasurer, as he is to be King of England. In discourse Sir W. Rider said, that he hath kept a journall of his life for almost these forty years, even to this day and still do, which pleases me mightily. So home, this being my solemn feast for my cutting of the stone, it being now, blessed be God! this day six years since the time; and I bless God I do in all respects find myself free from that disease or any signs of it. Dinner not being presently ready I spent some time myself and shewed them a map of Tangier left this morning at my house by Creed, cut by our order, the Commissioners, and drawn by Jonas Moore, which is very pleasant and I purpose to have it finely set out and hung up. After dinner Sir W. Batten sent to speak with me. He told me how Sir Richard Temple hath spoke very discontentful words in the House about the Triennial Bill; but it hath been read the second time to-day, and committed; and, he believes, will go on without more ado, though there are many in the House are displeased at it, though they dare not say much. But above all expectation, Mr. Prin is the man against it, comparing it to the idoll whose head was

of gold, and his body and legs and feet of different metal. So this Bill had several degrees of calling of Parliaments, in case the King, and then the Council, and then the Lord Chancellor, and then the Sheriffes, should fail to do it. He tells me also, how, upon occasion of some 'prentices being put in the pillory to-day for beating of their masters or some such like thing, in Cheapside, a company of 'prentices came and rescued them, and pulled down the pillory; and they being set up again, did the like again. So that the Lord Mayor and Major General Browne was faine to come and stay there, to keep the peace; and drums, all up and down the city, was beat to raise the trained bands, for to quiett the towne, and by and by, going out, we saw a trained band stand in Cheapside on their guard. It raining very fast, we met many brave coaches coming from the Parke and so we home ourselves, and ended the day with great content to think how it has pleased the Lord in six years time to raise me from a condition of constant and dangerous and most painfull sicknesse and low condition and poverty to a state of constant health almost, great honour and plenty, for which the Lord God of heaven make me truly thankfull. My wife found her gowne come home laced, which is indeed very handsome, but will cost me a great deale of money, more than ever I intended, but it is but for once.

27th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed wrangling with my wife about the charge she puts me to at this time for clothes more than I intended, and very angry we were but quietly friends again. It being church time, walked to St. James's, to try if I could see the belle Butler, but could not; only saw her sister, who indeed is pretty, with a fine Roman nose. Thence walked through the ducking-pond fields; but they are so altered since my father used to carry

us to Islington, to the old man's, at the King's Head, to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts) that I did not know which was the ducking-pond nor where I was. So home; and in Cheapside, both coming and going, it was full of apprentices, who have been here all this day, and have done violence, I think, to the master of the boys that were put in the pillory yesterday. But, Lord! to see how the train-bands are raised upon this: the drums beating every where as if an enemy were upon them; so much is the city subject to be put into a disarray upon very small occasions. But it was pleasant to hear the boys, and particularly one little one, that I demanded the business of. He told me that that had never been done in the city since it was a city, two prentices put in the pillory, and that it ought not to be so. So I walked home, and then it being fine moonshine with my wife an houre in the garden, talking of her clothes against Easter and about her mayds, Jane being to be gone, and the great dispute whether Besse, whom we both love, should be raised to be chamber-mayde or no. We have both a mind to it, but know not whether we should venture the making her proud and so make a bad chamber-mayde of a very good-natured and sufficient cook-mayde.

28th. To T. Trice, and advised with him about our administering to my brother Tom, but, Lord! what a shame, methinks, to me, that, in this condition, and at this age, I should know no better the laws of my owne country. Thence to Westminster and spent till noon, it being Parliament time. At past 4 o'clock I heard that the Parllament was not up and so being very hungry, and meeting with Sir J. Minnes went over with him to the Leg, and before we had cut a bit, the house rises, however we eat a bit and away to St. James's and there eat a second

part of our dinner with Mr. Coventry. The great matter to-day in the House hath been, that Mr. Vaughan,¹ the great speaker, is this day come to towne, and hath declared himself in a speech of an houre and a half, with great reason and eloquence, against the repealing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments; but with no successe: but the House have carried it that there shall be such Parliaments, but without any coercive power upon the King, if he will bring this Act. But, Lord! to see how the best things are not done without some design; for I perceive all these gentlemen that I was with to-day were against it (though there was reason enough on their side); yet purely, I could perceive, because it was the King's mind to have it; and should he demand any thing else, I believe they would give it him. But this the discontented Presbyters, and the faction of the House will be highly displeased with; but it was carried clearly against them in the House. We had excellent good table-talk, some of which I have entered in my book of stories. Home, and there find by my wife, that Father Fogourdy hath been with her to-day, and she is mightily for our going to hear a famous Roulé preach at the French Ambassador's house: I pray God he do not tempte her in any matters of religion, which troubles me; and also, she had messages from her mother to-day, who sent for her old morning-gowne, which was almost past wearing; and I used to call it her kingdom,²

¹ John Vaughan, afterwards knighted, and made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

² In allusion to the lines—

“My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find,” &c.

This song was set to music by William Byrd, one of the gentlemen of the Queene's Majesties honorable Chappell, probably before 1588, and it is quoted by Ben Jonson in his play of “Every Man out of his Humour,” first acted in 1599. (M. B.)

from the ease and content she used to have in the wearing of it. I am glad I do not hear of her begging any thing of more value, but I do not like that these messages should now come all upon Monday morning, when my wife expects of course I should be abroad at the Duke's.

29th. Was called up this morning by a messenger from Sir G. Carteret to come to him to examine his accounts, and there we sat at it all the morning. About noon Sir W. Batten came from the House of Parliament and told us our Bill for our office was read the second time to-day, with great applause, and is committed. By and by to dinner, where good cheere, and Sir G. Carteret in his humour a very good man, and the most kind father and pleased father in his children that ever I saw. Here is now hung up a picture of my Lady Carteret, drawn by Lilly, a very fine picture, but yet not so good as I have seen of his doing.

30th. At 7 o'clock to Sir G. Carteret, and there with Sir J. Minnes made an end of his accounts, but staid not dinner, my Lady having made us drink our morning draft there of several wines, but I drank nothing but some of her coffee, which was poorly made, with a little sugar in it. Thence to the 'Change a great while, and had good discourse with Captain Cocke at the Coffee-house about a Dutch warr, and it seems the King's design is by getting underhand the merchants to bring in their complaints to the parliament, to make them in honour begin a warr, which he cannot in honour declare first, for fear they should not second him with money.

31st. To my office, where comes, by and by, Povy, Sir W. Rider, Mr. Bland, Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which we now went through, but with great difficulty, and many

high words between Mr. Povy and I ; for I could not endure to see so many things extraordinary put in, against truthe and reason. He was very angry, but I endeavoured all I could to profess my satisfaction in my Lord's part of the accounts, but not in those foolish idle things, they say I said, that others had put in. Anon we rose and parted, both of us angry, but I contented, because I knew all of them must know I was in the right. To an alehouse hard by, where my cozen Scott was, and my father's new tenant, Langford, a tailor, to whom I have promised my custom, and he seems a very modest, carefull young man. Thence my wife coming with the coach to the alley end I home, and after supper to the making up my monthly accounts, and to my great content find myself worth above 900*l.*, the greatest sum I ever yet had. My head of late mighty full of business, and with good content to myself in it, though sometimes it troubles me that nobody else but I should bind themselves to serve the King with that diligence, whereby much of my pains proves ineffectual.

April 1st. To the 'Change, where I found all the merchants concerned with the presenting their complaints to the Committee of Parliament appointed to receive them this afternoon against the Dutch. To White Hall; and in the Gallery met the Duke of York (I also saw the Queene going to the Parke, and her Mayds of Honour : she herself looks ill, and methinks Mrs. Stewart is grown fatter, and not so fair as she was); and he called me to him, and discoursed a good while with me ; and after he was gone, twice or thrice staid and called me again to him, the whole length of the house : and at last talked of the Dutch; and I perceive do much wish that the Parliament will find reason to fall out with them. To walk in the garden with W. Howe, he telling me how my

Lord is little at home, minds his carding and little else, takes little notice of any body; but that he do not think he is displeased, as I fear, with me, but is strange to all. This day Mrs. Turner did lend me, as a rarity, a manuscript of one Mr. Wells, writ long ago, teaching the method of building a ship, which pleases me mightily.

2nd. To my office, where great contest with Sir W. Batten and Mr. Wood, and that doting fellow Sir J. Minnes, who says whatever Sir W. Batten says, though never minding whether to the King's profit or not. At noon to the Coffee-house, where excellent discourse with Sir W. Petty, who proposed it as a thing truly questionable, whether there really be any difference between waking and dreaming, that it is hard not only to tell how we know when we do a thing really or in a dream, but also to know what the difference is between one and the other. Sir Thomas Chamberlin tells me that the complaints of most Companies were yesterday presented to the Committee of Parliament against the Dutch, excepting that of the East India, which he tells me was because they would not be said to be the first and only cause of a warr with Holland, and that it is very probable, as well as most necessary, that we fall out with that people.

3rd (Lord's day). Called up by W. Joyce,¹ he being summonsed to the House of Lords to-morrow, for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters² for a debt. In the afternoon my wife sent for me home, to see her new laced gowne, and indeed it becomes

¹ William Joyce had married Mr. Pepys' first cousin, Kate Fenner.

² Elizabeth, daughter of John Earl Rivers, and first wife to William, fourth Lord Petre, who was, in 1678, impeached by the Commons of High Treason, and died under confinement in the Tower, January 5th, 1683. *s. p.*

her very nobly, and is well made. I am much pleased with it.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's; and there spoke with him about W. Joyce, who told me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. Thence to Westminster, to the Painted Chamber, and there met the two Joyces. Will in a very melancholy taking. After a little discourse I to the Lords' House before they sat; and stood within it a good while, while the Duke of York came to me and spoke to me a good while about the new ship at Woolwich. Afterwards I spoke with my Lord Berkeley and my Lord Peterborough about it.¹ And so staid without a good while, and saw my Lady Peters, an impudent jade, soliciting all the Lords on her behalf. And at last W. Joyce was called in; and by the consequences, and what my Lord Peterborough told me, I find that he did speak all he said to his disadvantage, and so was committed to the Black Rod: which is very hard, he doing what he did by the advice of my Lord Peter's owne steward. But the Sergeant of the Black Rod did direct one of his messengers to take him in custody, and so he was peaceably conducted to the Swan with two Necks, in Tuttle-street, to a handsome dining-room; and there was most civilly used, my uncle Fenner, and his brother Anthony, and some other friends being with him. But who would have thought that the fellow that I should have sworne could have spoken before all the world should in this be so daunted, as not to know what he said, and now to cry like a child. So away to Westminster Hall, and meeting Mr. Coventry, he took me to his chamber, with Sir William Hickman, a member of their house, and a very civil gentleman. Here we dined very plentifully, and

¹ W. Joyce's business. (M. B.)

thence to White Hall to the Duke's, where we all met, and after some discourse of the condition of the Fleete, in order to a Dutch warr, for that, I perceive, the Duke hath a mind it should come to, we away to the office. It was a sad sight, methought, to-day to see my Lord Peters coming out of the House fall out with his lady (from whom he is parted) about this business, saying that she disgraced him. But she hath been a handsome woman, and is, it seems, not only a lewd woman, but very high-spirited.

5th. Up very betimes, and walked to my cozen Anthony Joyce's, and thence with him to his brother Will, in Tuttle Street, where I find him pretty cheery over what he was yesterday, like a coxcomb, his wife being come to him, and having had his boy with him last night. Thence back, and there spoke to several Lords, and so did his solicitor, one that W. Joyce hath promised 5*l.* to if he be released. Lord Peterborough presented a petition to the House from W. Joyce: and a great dispute, we hear, there was in the House for and against it. At last it was carried that he should be bayled till the House meets again after Easter, he giving bond for his appearance. Anon comes the King and passed the Bill for repealing the Triennial Act, and another about Writs of Errour. I crowded in and heard the King's speech to them; but he speaks the worst that ever I heard man in my life: worse than if he read it all, and he had it in writing in his hand. I went to W. Joyce, where I find the order come, and bayle (his father and brother) given; and he paying his fees, which come to above 12*l.*, besides 5*l.* he is to give one man, and his charges of eating and drinking here, and 10*s.* a-day as many days as he stands under bayle: which, I hope, will teach him hereafter to hold his tongue better than he used to do. This day great numbers of merchants came to a grand Com-

mittee of the House to bring in their claims against the Dutch. I pray God guide the issue to our good!

6th. Up and to my office, whither by and by came John Noble, my father's old servant, to speake with me. I smelling the business, took him home; and there, all alone, he told me how he had been serviceable to my brother Tom, in the business of his getting his servant, an ugly jade, Margaret, with child. She was brought to bed in St. Sepulchre's parish of two children; one is dead, the other is alive: her name Elizabeth, and goes by the name of Taylor, daughter to John Taylor. It seems Tom did a great while trust one Crawly with the business, who daily got money of him; and at last, finding himself abused, he broke the matter to J. Noble upon a vowe of secresy. Tom's first plott was to go on the other side of the water and give a beggar woman something to take the child. They did once go, but did nothing, J. Noble saying that seven years hence the mother might come to demand the child and force him to produce it, or to be suspected of murder. Then I think it was that they consulted, and got one Cave, a poor pensioner in St. Bride's parish to take it, giving him 5*l.*, he thereby promising to keepe it for ever without more charge to them. The parish hereupon indite the man Cave for bringing this child upon the parish, and by Sir Richard Browne he is sent to the Counter. Cave thence writes to Tom to get him out. Tom answers him in a letter of his owne hand, which J. Noble shewed me, but not signed by him, wherein he speaks of freeing him and getting security for him, but nothing as to the business of the child, or anything like it: so that forasmuch as I could guess, there is nothing therein to my brother's prejudice as to the main point, and therefore I did not labour to tear

or take away the paper. Cave being released, demands 5*l.* more to secure my brother for ever against the child; and he was forced to give it him and took bond of Cave in 100*l.*, made at a scrivener's, one Hudson, I think, in the Old Bayly, to secure John Taylor, and his assigns, &c., in consideration of 10*l.* paid him, from all trouble, or charge of meat, drink, clothes, and breeding of Elizabeth Taylor; and it seems, in the doing of it, J. Noble was looked upon as the assignee of this John Taylor. Noble says that he furnished Tom with this money, and is also bound by another bond to pay him 20*s.* more this next Easter Monday; but nothing for either sum appears under Tom's hand. I told him how I am like to lose a great sum by his death, and would not pay any more myself, but I would speake to my father about it against the afternoon. After dinner took coach and to Paternoster Row, and there bought a pretty silke for a petticoate for my wife. I heard to-day that the Dutch have begun with us by granting letters of marke against us; but I believe it not.

7th. To the 'Change, where high talke of the Dutch protest against our Royall Company in Guinny, and their granting letters of marke against us there, and every body expects a warr, but I hope it will not yet be so, nor that this is true. Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French fricassee of veal.

8th. Sir William Batten and I to Deptford to the Alms'-house to see the new building which he, with some ambition, is building of there, during his being Master of Trinity House; and a good worke it is. Into a cane shop and bought one to walk with, cost me 4*s.* 6*d.*, all of one joint. So home to dinner, and had an excellent Good Friday dinner of peas porridge and apple pye. So to the office all the afternoon preparing a new book for my contracts. Then

home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wiggs¹ and ale.

10th (Lord's day). My wife dressed herself, it being Easter day, but I not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, staid at home with me; for she had put on her best gowne, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her taylor brought home her other new-laced silke gowne with a smaller lace, and new petticoate, I bought the other day: both very pretty. We spent the day in pleasant talke and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills.

12th. To my uncle Wight's, where dined my father, poor melancholy man, that used to be as full of life as anybody, and also my aunt's brother, Mr. Sutton, a merchant in Flanders, a very sober, fine man, and Mr. Cole and his lady; but, Lord! how I used to adore that man's talke, and now methinks he is but an ordinary man, his son a pretty boy indeed, but his nose unhappily awry. To my Lord's. I found my Lord and ladies and my wife at supper. My Lord seems very kind. So home, and find my father come to lie at our house, and so supped, and saw him, poor man, to bed, my heart never being fuller of love to him, nor admiration of his prudence and pains heretofore in the world than now, to see how Tom hath carried himself in his trade; and how the poor man hath his thoughts going to provide for his younger children and my mother. But I hope they shall never want.

13th. To St. James's, where I found Mr. Coventry, the Duke being now come thither for the summer, with a goldsmith, sorting out his old plate to change for new; but, Lord! what a deale he hath! Then

¹ Buns, still called wiggs in the West of England. See 6th March, 1660-61. (M. B.)

to talk of our business with the Dutch ; he tells me fully that he believes it will not come to a warr ; for first, he shewed me a letter from Sir George Downing, his owne hand, where he assures him that the Dutch themselves do not desire, but above all things fear it, and that they neither have given letters of marke against our ships in Guinny, nor do De Ruyter stay at home with his fleete with an eye to any such thing, but for want of a wind, and is now come out and is going to the Streights. He tells me also that the most he expects is that upon the merchants' complaints, the Parliament will represent them to the King, desiring his securing of his subjects against them, and though perhaps they may not directly see fit, yet even this will be enough to let the Dutch know that the Parliament do not oppose the King, and by that means take away their hopes, which was that the King of England could not get money or do anything towards a warr with them, and so thought themselves free from making any restitution, which by this they will be deceived in. He tells me also that the Dutch states are in no good condition themselves, differing one with another, and that for certain none but the states of Holland and Zealand will contribute towards a warr, the others reckoning themselves, being inland, not concerned in the profits of warr or peace. But it is pretty to see what he says, that these here that are forward for a warr at Court, they are reported in the world to be only designers of getting money into the King's hands, they that elsewhere are for it have a design to trouble the kingdom and to give the Fanatiques an opportunity of doing hurt, and lastly these that are against it (as he himself for one is very cold therein) are said to be bribed by the Dutch.

14th. Up betimes, and after my father's eating something, I walked out with him as far as Milk

Streete, he turning down to Cripplegate to take coach; and at the end of the streete I took leave, being much afeard I shall not see him here any more, he do decay so much every day.

15th. At noon to the 'Change, where I met with Mr. Hill, the little merchant, with whom, I perceive I shall contract a musical acquaintance; but I will make it as little troublesome as I can. With my wife by coach to the Duke's house, and there saw "The German Princess"¹ acted, by the woman herself; but never was any thing so well done in earnest, worse performed in jest upon the stage; and indeed the whole play, abating the drollery of him that acts her husband, is very simple, unless here and there a witty sprinkle or two.

16th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House: and after a good and pleasant dinner, up with him. Sir W. Rider, the simple Povy, of all the most ridiculous foole that ever I knew to attend to business, and Creed and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts; but the more we look into them the more we see of them that makes dispute.

17th (Lord's day). Up, and I put on my best cloth black suit and my velvet cloake, and with my wife in her best laced suit to church, where we have not been these nine or ten weeks. A young simple fellow did preach: I slept soundly all the sermon. Our parson, Mr. Mills, his owne mistake in reading of the service was very remarkable, that instead of saying, "We beseech thee to preserve to our use the

¹ Mary Moders, *alias* Stedman, *alias* Carleton, a celebrated impostor, who had induced the son of a London citizen to marry her under the pretence that she was a German Princess. She next became an actress, after having been tried for bigamy and acquitted. The rest of her life was one continued course of robbery and fraud: and in 1678 she suffered at Tyburn, for stealing a piece of plate from a tavern in Chancery Lane.

kindly fruits of the earth," he cries, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine."

18th. Up and by coach to Westminster, and there solicited W. Joyce's business again; and did speake to the Duke of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her; but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do any thing to release him; but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem. I made many friends, and so did others. At last it was ordered by the Lords that it should be referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider. So I away by coach to the 'Change; and there do hear that a Jew hath put in a policy of four per cent. to any man, to insure him against a Dutch warr for four months; I could find in my heart to take him at this offer. To Hide Parke, where I have not been since last year; where I saw the King with his periwigg, but not altered at all; and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on; and many brave persons. And myself being in a hackney and full of people, was ashamed to be seen by the world, many of them knowing me.

19th. To the Physique Garden in St. James's Parke; where I first saw orange-trees,¹ and other fine trees.

20th. Mr. Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved

¹ "20 September, 1700. I went to Beddington . . . heretofore adorned with ample gardens and the first orange trees that had been seen in England. Oranges were eaten in this kingdom in the time of King James I., if not earlier, as appears by the accounts of a student in the Temple, which the editor has seen."—EVELYN'S *Diary*. (M. B.)

to report very highly the wrongs they have done us (when, God knows! it is only our owne negligence and laziness that hath done us the wrong): and this to be made to the House to-morrow.

21st. At the Lords' House heard that it is ordered, that, upon submission upon the knee both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit, and aske pardon upon his knees; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it; but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitifull Lords the King hath; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk; and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory, and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her. I find that the House this day have voted that the King be desired to demand right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and that they will stand by him with their lives and fortunes: which is a very high vote, and more than I expected. What the issue will be, God knows!

22nd. I was called up this morning before four o'clock. It was full light enough to dress myself and so by water against tide, it being a little coole, to Greenwich; and thence, only that it was somewhat foggy till the sun got to some height, walked with great pleasure to Woolwich, in my way staying several times to listen to the nightingales. I did much business both at the Ropeyarde and the other and on float. Thence I walked to Greenwich, Mr. Deane with me. Much good discourse and I think is a very just man, only a little conceited, but yet very able in his way and so he by water also with me to towne. I home and by coach to Mrs. Turner's and there got something to eat, and thence after reading part of a good play, Mrs. The., my

wife and I, in their coach to Hide Parke, where great plenty of gallants, and pleasant it was, only for the dust. Here I saw Mrs. Bendy, my Lady Spillman's faire daughter that was, who continues yet very handsome. Many others I saw with great content and so home. I did also carry them into St. James's Parke and shewed them the garden.

23d. I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is now full of talke of a Dutch warr; for it seems the Lords have concurred in the Commons' vote about it; and so the next week it will be presented to the King, insomuch that he do desire we would look about to see what stores we lack, and buy what we can. Home to dinner, where I and my wife much troubled about my money that is in my Lord Sandwich's hand, for fear of his going to sea and being killed; but I will get what of it out I can.

24th (Lord's day). All the morning in my chamber setting some of my private papers in order, for I perceive that now publique business takes up so much of my time that I must get time a-Sundays or a-nights to look after my owne matters.

25th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's and there up to the Duke, where most of our talke about a Dutch warr. The Duke, which gives me great good hopes, do talk of setting up a good discipline in the fleete. In the Duke's chamber there is a bird, given him by Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, comes from the East Indys, black the greatest part, with the finest collar of white about the neck; but talks many things and neyes like the horse, and other things, the best almost that ever I heard bird in my life. To my Lord Sandwich's, where by agreement I met my wife, and there dined with the young ladies; my Lady, being not well, kept her chamber. Much simple discourse at table among the young ladies. After dinner walked in the garden,

talking with Mr. Moore about my Lord's business. He told me my Lord runs in debt every day more and more, and takes little care how to come out of it. He counted to me how my Lord pays use now for above 9,000*l.*, which is a sad thing, especially considering the probability of his going to sea, in great danger of his life, and his children, many of them, to provide for. Thence, the young ladies going out to visit I took my wife by coach out through the city, discoursing how to spend the afternoon: and conquered, with much ado, a desire of going to a play; but took her out at White Chapel, and to Bednal Green; so to Hackney, where I have not been many a year, since a little child I boarded there. Thence to Kingsland, by my nurse's house, Goody Lawrence, where my brother Tom and I was kept when young. Then to Newington Green, and saw the outside of Mrs. Herbert's house, where she lived, and my Aunt Ellen with her; but, Lord! how in every point I find myself to over-value things when a child. Thence to Islington, and so to St John's to the Red Bull, and there saw the latter part of a rude prize fought, but with good pleasure enough; and thence back to Islington, and at the King's Head, where Pitts lived, we 'light and eat and drunk for remembrance of the old house sake; and so through Kingsland again, and so to Bishopsgate and so home with great pleasure. The country mighty pleasant, only a little troubled at the young ladies leaving my wife so to-day, and from some passages fearing my Lady might be offended. But I hope the best.

26th. Saw W. Joyce; and the late business hath cost the poor man above 40*l.*; besides, he is likely to lose his debt. Thence to my Lord's and with him I rode in his coach to St. James's, talking about W. Joyce's business; and my Lady Peters, he says, is a

drunken jade, he himself having seen her drunk in the lobby of their House. I went up with my Lord to the Duke, where methought the Duke did not shew him any so great fondness as he was wont; and methought my Lord was not pleased that I should see the Duke made no more of him, not that I know any thing of any unkindnesse, but I think verily he is not as he was with him in his esteem. By and by the Duke went out and we with him through the Parke and there I left him, and Creed and I walked round the Parke, a pleasant walk, observing the birds, which is very pleasant; and so walked to the New Exchange, and there had a most delicate dish of curds and creame. Home to the Old Exchange by coach, where great newes and true, I saw by written letters, of strange fires seen at Amsterdam in the ayre, and not only there, but in other places thereabout. The talke of a Dutch warr is not so hot, but yet I fear it will come to it. My wife gone this afternoon to the buriall of my she-cozen Scott, a good woman; and it is a sad consideration how the Pepys's decay, and nobody almost that I know in a present way of encreasing them.

27th. All the morning very busy with multitude of clients, till my head began to be overloaded. With Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry discoursed of some tarr that I have been endeavouring to buy, for the market begins apace to rise upon us. Home by coach with Alderman Backewell, whose opinion is that the Dutch will not give over the business without putting us to some trouble to set out a fleete; and then, if they see we go on well, will seek to salve up the matter. To my cozen Roger Pepys's chamber and there he did advise me about our Exchequer business and also about my brother John, he is put by my father upon interceding for him, but I will not yet seem the least to pardon him nor can I in my

heart. However he and I did talk how to get him a mandamus for a fellowship, which I will endeavour. Thence to my Lady's and in my way met Mr. Sanchy, of Cambridge, whom I have not met a great while. He seems a simple fellow, and tells me their master, Dr. Rainbow, is newly made Bishop of Carlisle. This day the Houses attended the King, and delivered their votes to him upon the business of the Dutch ; and he thanks them, and promises an answer in writing.

29th. To St. James's, and there with Mr. Coventry did proceed strictly upon some fooleries of Mr. Povy's in my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which will touch him home and I am glad of it, for he is the most troublesome impertinent man that ever I met with. After dinner my wife and I by coach to see my Lady Sandwich, where we find all the children and my Lord removed, and the house so melancholy, that I thought my Lady had been dead, knowing that she was not well ; but it seems she hath the meazles, and I fear the small pox, poor lady. It grieves me mightily ; for it will be a sad houre to the family should she miscarry.

30th. All the newes now is what will become of the Dutch business, whether warr or peace. We all seem to desire it, as thinking ourselves to have advantages at present over them, for my part I dread it. My Lord Bristoll's business is hushed up, and nothing made of it, he is gone and the discourse quite ended.

May 2nd. By coach to the King's Play-house to see "The Labyrinth," but, coming too soon, walked to my Lord's to hear how my Lady do, who is pretty well ; at least past all fear. There by Captain Ferrers meeting with an opportunity of my Lord's coach, to carry us to the Parke anon, we directed it to come to the play-house door ; and so we walked.

my wife and I and Mademoiselle. I paid for her going in and there saw "The Labyrinth," the poorest play, methinks, that ever I saw, there being nothing in it but the odd accidents that fell out, by a lady's being bred up in man's apparel, and a man in woman's. Here was Mrs. Stewart, who is indeed very pretty, but not like my Lady Castlemaine, for all that. Thence in the coach to the Parke, where no pleasure; there being much dust, little company, and one of our horses almost spoiled by falling down, and getting his leg over the pole; but all mended presently, and after riding up and down, home. Set Mademoiselle at home, and we home, and to my office, whither comes Mr. Bland, and pays me the debt he acknowledged he owed me for my service in his business of the Tangier merchant, twenty pieces of new gold, a pleasant sight. It cheered my heart; and he being gone, I home to supper, and shewed them my wife; and she, poor wretch, would fain have kept them to look on, without any other design but a simple love to them; but I thought it not convenient, and so took them into my own hand.

3rd. Drank my morning draft in good chocolate, and slabbering my band sent home for another, and so to Mr. Coventry's chamber where I endeavoured to shew the folly and punish it as much as I could of Mr. Povy; for, of all the men in the world, I never knew any man of his degree so great a coxcomb in such employments. I see I have lost him for ever, but I value it not; for he is a coxcomb, and, I doubt, not over honest, by some things which I see; and yet, for all his folly, he hath the good lucke, now and then, to speak his follies in as good words, and with as good a show, as if it were reason, and to the purpose, which is really one of the wonders of my life. Thence walked to Westminster Hall; and there, in the Lords' House, did in a great

crowd, from ten o'clock till almost three, hear the cause of Mr. Roberts,¹ my Lord Privy Seale's son, against Win, who by false ways did get the father of Mr. Roberts's wife (Mr. Bodvill) to give him the estate and disinherit his daughter. The cause was managed for my Lord Privy Seale by Finch the solicitor; but I do really think that he is truly a man of as great eloquence as ever I heard, or ever hope to hear in all my life. Mr. Cutler told me how for certain Lawson hath proclaimed warr again with Argier, though they had at his first coming given back the ships which they had taken, and all their men; though they refused afterwards to make him restitution for the goods which they had taken out of them. I went with Mr. Norbury near hand to the Fleece, a mum house in Leadenhall, and there drunk mum² and by and by broke up.

4th. Up, and my new Tailor, Langford, comes and takes measure of me for a new black cloth suit and cloake, and I think he will prove a very carefull fellow and will please me well. Thence to attend my Lord Peterborough in bed and give him an account of yesterday's proceeding with Povy. I perceive I labour in a business will bring me little pleasure; but no matter, I shall do the King some service. To my cozen Scott's. There condoled with him the loss of my cozen, his wife, and talked about his matters, as attorney to my father, in his administering to my brother Tom. He tells me we are like to receive some shame about the business of his bastarde with Jack Noble; but no matter, so it cost us no money. The plague increases at Amsterdam. In the afternoon comes Mr. Peter Honiwood to see me and gives me 20s., his and his friends' pence for my brother John, which, God forgive my pride,

¹ *Vide* "Lords' Journals of the day."

² See note, April 22nd, 1661. (M. B.)

methinks I think myself too high to take of him ; but it is an ungrateful pitch of pride in me, which God forgive.

5th. Abroad to change some plate for my father to send to-day by the carrier to Brampton, but I observe and do fear it may be to my wrong that I change spoons of my uncle Robert's into new and set a P upon them that thereby I cannot claim them hereafter. However, the matter of this is not great, and so I did it. So to the 'Change, and meeting Sir W. Warren, with him to a tavern, and there talked of the evils the King suffers in our ordering of business in the Navy, as Sir W. Batten now forces us by his knavery. My eyes begin every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight ; which I never observed till now.

7th. After dinner comes Deane of Woolwich and I spent, as I had appointed, all the afternoon with him about instructions which he gives me to understand the building of a ship, and I think I shall soon understand it.

8th (Lord's day). This day my new tailor, Mr. Langford, brought me home a new black cloth suit and cloake lined with silk moyre. After dinner my wife and I to church, and after church to Sir W. Pen, and there sat and talked with him, and the perfidious rogue seems, as he do always, mightily civil to us, though I know he hates and envies us. So home to supper, prayers, and to bed.

9th. To my Lady Sandwich's, who, good lady, is now, thanks be to God ! so well as to sit up, and sent to us, if we were not afeard, to come up to her. So we did ; but she was mightily against my wife's coming so near her ; though, poor wretch ! she is as well as ever she was, as to the meazles, and nothing can I see upon her face. There we sat talking

with her above three hours, till six o'clock, of several things with great pleasure and so away.

12th. Up by 4 o'clock and by water to Woolwich where did some business and walked to Greenwich, there met by appointment Commissioner Pett, and with him to Deptford and so home. By a letter to me this afternoon from Mr. Coventry I saw the first appearance of a warr with Holland.

13th. Up before three o'clock, and a little after upon the water, it being very light as at noon, and a bright sunrising; but by and by a rainbow appeared, the first that ever in a morning I saw. I to Woolwich where before all the men came to work I with Mr. Deane spent two hours upon the new ship, informing myself in the names and natures of many parts of her to my great content and so back again, and after shifting myself away to Westminster, looking after Mr. Maes's business and others. In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles. The Lords would be freed from having their houses searched by any but the Lord Lieutenant of the County; and upon being found guilty, to be tried only by their peers; and thirdly, would have it added, that whereas the Bill says "That that, among other things, shall be a conventicle wherein any such meeting is found doing any thing contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England," they would have it added, "or practice." The Commons to the Lords said, that they knew not what might hereafter be found out which might be called the practice of the Church of England: for there are many things may be said to be the practice of the Church, which were never established by any law, either common, statute, or canon; as singing of psalms, binding up prayers at the end of the Bible, and praying extempore before and after

sermon : and though these are things indifferent, yet things for aught they at present know may be started, which may be said to be the practice of the Church which would not be fit to allow. For the Lords' privileges, Mr. Waller told them how tender their predecessors had been of the privileges of the Lords ; but, however, where the peace of the kingdom stands in competition with them, they apprehend those privileges must give place. He told them that he thought, if they should owne all to be the privileges of the Lords which might be demanded, they should be led like the man (who granted leave to his neighbour to pull off his horse's tail, meaning that he could not do it at once) that hair by hair had his horse's tail pulled off indeed : so the Commons, by granting one thing after another, might be served by the Lords. Mr. Vaughan, whom I could not to my grief perfectly hear, did say, if that they should be obliged in this manner to exempt the Lords from every thing, it would in time come to pass that whatever (be it ever so great) should be voted by the Commons as a thing penall for a commoner, the contrary should be thought a privilege to the Lords : that also in this business, the work of a conventicle being but the work of an hour, the cause of a search would be over before a Lord Lieutenant, who may be many miles off, can be sent for ; and that all this dispute is but about 100*l.* ; for it is said in the Act, that it shall be banishment or payment of 100*l.* I thereupon heard the Duke of Lenox say, that there might be Lords who could not always be ready to lose 100*l.*, or some such thing. They broke up without coming to any end in it. There was also in the Commons' House a great quarrel about Mr. Prin, and it was believed that he should have been sent to the Tower, for adding something to a Bill (after it

was ordered to be engrossed) of his own head—a Bill for measures for wine and other things of that sort, and a Bill of his owne bringing in; but it appeared he could not mean any hurt in it. But however, the King was fain to write in his behalf and all was passed over. But it is worth my remembrance, that I saw old Ryly the Herald, and his son; and spoke to his son, who told me in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records; but that he never comes thither, nor had been there these six months: so that I perceive they expect to get his employment from him. Thus every body is liable to be envied and supplanted. I went homewards, calling upon my cozen Roger Pepys, with whom I talked and heard so much from him of his desire that I would see my brother's debts paid, and things still of that nature tending to my parting with what I get with pain to serve others' expenses that I was cruelly vexed. Thence to Sir R. Bernard and there heard something of Pigott's delay of paying our money, that that also vexed me mightily. So home and there met with a letter from my cozen Scott, which tells me that he is resolved to meddle no more with our business, of administering for my father, which altogether makes me almost distracted to think of the trouble that I am like to meet with by other folks' business more than ever I hope to have by my owne. So with great trouble of mind to bed.

16th. With Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dogg by letting opium into his hind leg. He and Dr. Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials; but with the little they got in, the dogg did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up, and a little dogg also, which they put in down his throat; he also staggered first, and then fell

asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no, after I was gone, I know not, but it is a strange and sudden effect. Thence walked to Westminster Hall, where the King was expected to come to prorogue the House, but it seems, afterwards I hear, he did not come. After supper to bed, my wife and I having talked and concluded upon sending my father an offer of having Pall come to us to be with us for her preferment, if by any means I can get her a husband here, which, though it be some trouble to us, yet it will be better than to have her stay there till nobody will have her and then be flung upon my hands.

18th. Receiving a very wakening letter from Mr. Coventry about fitting of ships, which speaks something like to be done, I went forth to the office, there to take order in things. So home again and to Sir W. Pen, who, among other things of haste in this new order for ships is ordered to be gone presently to Portsmouth to look after the work there. I staid to discourse with him, and so home to supper, where upon a fine couple of pigeons, a good supper; and here I met a pretty cabinet sent me by Mr. Shales, which I give my wife, and very conveniently it comes for her closett. This day I begun to drink butter-milk and whey, and I hope to find great good by it.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier; where God forgive how our Report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it! And had it been what it would, it had gone: and, besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

20th. Mr. Edward Montagu is turned out of the Court, not to return again. His fault, I perceive, was his pride, and most of all his affecting to seem great with the Queene: and it seems indeed he had

more of her care than any body else, and would be with her talking alone two or three hours together: insomuch that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she hath now the gallant: and they say the King himself did once ask Montagu how his mistresse (meaning the Queene) did. He grew so proud and despised every body, besides suffering nobody, he or she, to get or do any thing about the Queene, that they all laboured to do him a good turne. They also say that he did give some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King himself did speake of him of. But strange it is that this man should, from the greatest negligence in the world, come to be the miracle of attendance, so as to take all offices from every body, either men or women, about the Queene. So he is gone, nobody pitying but laughing at him: and he pretends only that he is gone to his father, that is sicke in the country.¹

21st. Up, called by Mr. Cholmely, and walked with him in the garden till others came to another Committee of Tangier, to see more of Povy's folly, and so broke up, and at the office sat all the morning, and very hot we are getting out some ships. With my wife called to see my Lady Sandwich, whom we found in her dining-room, which joyed us mightily; but she looks very thin, poor woman, being mightily broke. She told us that Mr. Montagu is to return to Court, as she hears, which I wonder at, and do hardly believe.

22nd (Lord's day). By water to White Hall. Here

¹ See note in the Grammont Memoirs. "Boyer, in his 'Life of Queen Anne,' says he was dismissed for offending her Majesty by squeezing her hand. Probably he was disgraced for a time, and on that account went abroad." The Duke of York obtained for him the post of Master of Horse to the Queen. (M. B.)

the Duke of York called me to him, to ask me whether I did intend to go with him to Chatham or no. I told him if he commanded, but I did believe there would be business here for me, and so he told me then it would be better to stay, which I suppose he will take better than if I had been forward to go. Thence, after staying and seeing the throng of people to attend the King to Chappell (but, Lord! what a company of sad, idle people they are) I walked to St. James's and then to White Hall with Mr. Coventry, talking about business. Home, and so to a good supper of pease, the first I eat this year, and so to bed.

23rd. The King is gone down with the Duke and a great crew this morning by break of day to Chatham. Towards noon I and my wife by water to Woolwich to see several ships how ready they are. Then to Mr. Falconer's to a good dinner, having myself carried them a vessel of sturgeon and a Lamprey pie, and then to the Yarde again, and among other things did at Mr. Ackworth's obtain a demonstration of his being a knave; but I did not discover it, till it be a little more seasonable. So to Deptford, did some business there; but, Lord! to see how in both places the King's business, if ever it should come to a warr, is likely to be done, there not being a man that looks or speaks like a man that will take pains, or use any forecast to serve the King, at which I am heartily troubled.

24th. This day I heard that my uncle Fenner is dead, which makes me a little sad, to see with what speed a great many of my friends are gone, and more, I fear, for my father's sake, are going.

25th. This afternoon came Tom and Charles Pepys by my sending for, and received of me 40*l.* in part towards their 70*l.* legacy of my uncle's.

26th. Up to the office, where we sat, and I had

some high words with Sir W. Batten about canvas, wherein I opposed him and all his experience, about seams in the middle, and the profit of having many breadths and narrow, which I opposed to good purpose, to the rejecting of the whole business. At noon home to dinner, and thence took my wife by coach, and she to my Lady Sandwich. I to Tom Trice, to discourse about my father's giving over his administration to my brother, and thence to Sir R. Bernard, and there received 19*l.* in money, and took up my father's bond of 21*l.*, that is 40*l.*, in part of Piggot's 209*l.* due to us, which 40*l.* he pays for 7 roods of meadow in Port Holme. Thence to my wife, and carried her to the Old Bayly, and there we were led to the Quest House, by the church, where all the kindred were by themselves at the buriall of my uncle Fenner; but, Lord! what a pitiful rout of people there was of them, but very good service and great company the whole was. And so anon to church, and a good sermon, and so home.

27th. To the office, where busy till my brains ready to drop with variety of business, and vexed for all that to see the service like to suffer by other people's neglect. Vexed also at a letter from my father with two troublesome ones enclosed from Cave and Noble, so that I know not what to do therein. But to comfort my heart, Captain Taylor this day brought me 20*l.* he promised me for my assistance to him about his masts. This morning my Taylor brought me a very tall mayde to be my cook-mayde; she asked 5*l.*, but my wife offered her but 3*l.* 10*s.*—whether she will take it or no I know not till to-morrow, but I am afeard she will be over high for us, she having last been a chamber mayde, and holds up her head, as my little girle Su observed.

28th. To Mr. Cutler's, where I heard Sir W. Rider was, and dined with them. Good discourse, Sir W.

Rider especially much fearing the issue of a Dutch war, wherein I very highly commend him. Thence home, and at the office a while, and then with Mr. Deane to a second lesson upon my Shipwightry, wherein I go on with great pleasure. But, Lord! to see how my very going to the 'Change, and being without my gowne, presently brought me wind and pain, till I came home and was well again; but I am come to such a pass that I shall not know what to do with myself, but I am apt to think that it is only my legs that I take cold in from my having so long worn a gowne constantly.

29th (Whitsunday. King's Birth and Restauration day). Up, and having received a letter from Mr. Coventry, I walked to St. James's, and there he and I did long discourse together of the business of the office, and the warr with the Dutch; and he seemed to argue mightily with the little reason that there is for all this. For first, as to the wrong we pretend they have done us: that of the East Indys, for their not delivering of Poleron, it is not yet known whether they have failed or no; that of their hindering the Leopard cannot amount to above 3,000*l.* if true; that of the Guinny Company, all they had done us did not amount to above 2 or 300*l.* he told me truly; and that now, from what Holmes, without any commission, hath done in taking an island and two forts, hath set us much in debt to them; and he believes that Holmes will have been so puffed up with this, that he by this time hath been enforced with more strength than he had then, hath, I say, done a great deale more wrong to them. He do, as to the effect of the warr, tell me clearly that it is not any skill of the Dutch that can hinder our trade if we will, we having so many advantages over them, of winds, good ports, and men; but it is our pride, and the laziness of the merchant. The main thing he desired to speake with

me about was, to know whether I understand my Lord Sandwich's intentions as to going to sea with this fleete ; saying, that the Duke, if he desires it, is most willing to it ; but thinking that twelve ships is not a fleete fit for my Lord to be troubled to go out with, he is not willing to offer it to him till he hath some intimations of his mind to go, or not. He spoke this with very great respect to my Lord, though methinks it is strange they should not understand one another better at this time than to need another's mediation. To the King's closett, whither by and by the King came, my Lord Sandwich carrying the sword. A Bishopp preached, but he speaking too low for me to hear behind the King's closett, I went forth and discoursed with Coll. Reames, who seems a very willing man to be informed in his business of canvas, which he is undertaking to strike in with us to serve the Navy. By and by my Lord Sandwich came forth, and called me to him : and we fell into discourse a great while about his business, wherein he seems to be very open with me, and to receive my opinion as he used to do ; and I hope I shall become necessary to him again. He desired me to think of the fitness, or not, for him to offer himself to go to sea ; and to give him my thoughts in a day or two. Thence after sermon among the ladies in the Queene's side ; where I saw Mrs. Stewart, very fine and pretty, but far beneath my Lady Castlemaine. Thence with Mr. Povy¹ home to dinner ; where extraordinary cheer. And after dinner up and down to see his house. And in a word, methinks, for his perspective upon the wall in his garden, and the springs rising up with the perspective in the little closett ; his room floored above with woods of several colours, like but above the

¹ Evelyn mentions Mr. Povy's house in Lincoln's Inn.

best cabinet-work I ever saw ; his grotto and vault, with his bottles of wine, and a well therein to keep them cool ; his furniture of all sorts ; his bath at the top of his house, good pictures, and his manner of eating and drinking ; do surpass all that ever I did see of one man in all my life.

30th. Lay long, the bells ringing it being holiday, and then up and all the day long in my study at home studying of shipmaking with great content till the evening, and then came Mr. Howe and sat and supped with me. He is a little conceited, but will make a discreet man.

31st. Up, and called upon Mr. Hollyard, with whom I advised and shall fall upon some course of doing something for my disease of the wind, which grows upon me every day more and more. To my Lord, and to discourse about his going to sea, and the message I had from Mr. Coventry to him. He wonders, as he well may, that this course should be taken, and he every day with the Duke, who, nevertheless, seems most friendly to him, who hath not yet spoke one word to my Lord of his desire to have him go to sea. My Lord do tell me clearly that were it not that he, as all other men that were of the Parliament side, are obnoxious to reproach, and so is forced to bear what otherwise he would not, he would never suffer every thing to be done in the Navy, and he never be consulted ; and it seems, in the naming of all these commanders for this fleete, he hath never been asked one question. But we concluded it wholly inconsistent with his honour not to go with this fleete, nor with the reputation which the world hath of his interest at Court ; and so he did give me commission to tell Mr. Coventry that he is most willing to receive any commands from the Duke in this fleete, were it less than it is, and that particularly in this service. With this message I

parted, and by coach to the office, where I found Mr. Coventry, and told him this. Methinks, I confess, he did not seem so pleased with it as I expected, or at least could have wished, and asked me whether I had told my Lord that the Duke do not expect his going, which I told him I had. But now whether he means really that the Duke, as he told me the other day, do think the Fleete too small for him to take or that he would not have him go, I swear I cannot tell. To St. James's, to one Lady Poultny's,¹ where I found my Lord, I doubt, at some vain pleasure or other. Home, and then to my monthly accounts, where to my great comfort I find myself better than I was the last month, and come to 930 $\frac{1}{2}$. I was told to-day, that upon Sunday night last, being the King's birth-day, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings (over the hither-gate at Lambert's lodgings) dancing with fiddlers all night almost; and all the world coming by taking notice of it.

June 1st. Mr. Hollyard came to me, and to my great sorrow, after his great assuring me that I could not possibly have the stone again, he tells me that he do verily fear that I have it again, and has brought me something to dissolve it, which do make me very much troubled, and pray to God to ease me. He gone, I down by water to Woolwich and Deptford to look after the dispatch of the ships, all the way reading Mr. Spencer's Book of Prodigys, which is most ingeniously writ, both for matter and style. Southwell (Sir W. Pen's friend) tells me the very sad newes of my Lord Teviott's and nineteen more commission officers being killed at Tangier by the Moores, by an ambush of the enemy upon them, while they were surveying their lines; which is very sad, and, he says, afflicts the King much. My wife

¹ Married to Sir William Poulteney. See 10th January, 1659-60. (M. B.)

and I to the King's house, and saw "The Silent Woman;"¹ but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be, or else I am now-a-days out of humour. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hayle, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise; and all the house in a disorder.²

2nd. To St. James's, and there dined with Mr. Coventry very finely, and so over the Parke to White Hall to a Committee of Tangier about providing provisions, money, and men, but it is strange to see how poorly and brokenly things are done of the greatest consequence, and how soon the memory of this great man is gone, or, at least, out of mind by the thoughts of who goes next, which is not yet knowne. My Lord of Oxford, Muskerrey, and several others are discoursed of. It seems my Lord Teviott's design was to go a mile and half out of the towne, to cut down a wood in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spies; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for any body's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapt, he and all his officers, and about 200 men, as they say; there being left now in the garrison but four captains. This happened the 3d of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his entering into his government there: but at his going out in the morning he said to some of his officers, "Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moores, when Fines made his sally out."

3rd. We sat at the office extraordinary upon the business of our stores, but, Lord! what a pitiful ac-

¹ "Epicene, or the Silent Woman," by Ben Jonson. (M. B.)

² The pit way not roofed over. (M. B.)

count the Surveyor makes of it grieves my heart. At the Committee for Tangier all the afternoon, where a sad consideration to see things of so great weight managed in so confused a manner as it is, so as I would not have the buying of an acre of land bought by ; the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, for ought I see, being the only two that do anything like men ; Prince Rupert do nothing but swear and laugh a little, with an oathe or two.

4th. I went forth with J. Noble, who tells me that he will secure us against Cave, that though he knows, and can prove it, yet nobody else can prove it, to be Tom's child ; that the bond was made by one Hudson, a scrivener, next to the Fountaine tavern, in the Old Bayly ; that the children were born, and christened, and entered in the parish-book of St Sepulchre's, by the name of Anne and Elizabeth Taylor ; and he will give us security against Cave if we pay him the money. To the Duke, and was with him giving him an account how matters go, and of the necessity there is of a power to presse seamen, without which we cannot really raise men for this fleete of twelve sayle, besides that it will assert the King's power of pressing, which at present is somewhat doubted, and will make the Dutch believe that we are in earnest. To the Committee for Tangier all afternoon, where still the same confused doings, and my Lord FitzHarding now added to the Committee, which will signify much. Mr. Coventry discoursing this noon about Sir W. Batten (what a sad fellow he is!) told me how the King told him the other day how Sir W. Batten, being in the ship with him and Prince Rupert when they expected to fight with Warwicke,¹ did walk up and down sweating with a napkin under his throat to dry up his sweat ; and

¹ Rich, Earl of Warwick, Admiral for the Parliament. See Note, 26th September, 1666. (M. B.)

that Prince Rupert being a most jealous man, and particularly of Batten, do walk up and down swearing bloodily to the King, that Batten had a mind to betray them to-day, and that the napkin was a signal ; "but, by God," says he, "if things go ill, the first thing I will do is to shoot him." He discoursed largely and bravely to me concerning the different sort of valours, the active and passive valour. For the latter, he brought as an instance General Blake, who, in the defending of Taunton and Lime for the Parliament, did through his stubborn sort of valour defend it the most opiniastrement that ever any man did any thing ; and yet never was the man that ever made any attaque by land or sea, but rather avoyded it on all, even fair occasions. On the other side, Prince Rupert, the boldest attaquar in the world for personal courage ; and yet, in the defending of Bristol, no man ever did anything worse, he wanting the patience and seasoned head to consult and advise for defence, and to bear with the evils of a siege. The like he says of my Lord Teviott, who was the boldest adventurer of his person in the world, and from a mean man in few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only survivor of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would ; and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and no judgment in a fight. He tells me above all of the Duke of York, that he is more himself and more of judgment is at hand in him in the middle of a desperate service, than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirke, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies ; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by

advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him ; "For," says he, "the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them;" and though he is a man naturally martiall to the highest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his owne, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxime that a Hector can have no courage. He told me also, as a great instance of some men, that the Prince of Condé's excellence is, that there not being a more furious man in the world, danger in fight never disturbs him more than just to make him civill, and to command in words of great obligation to his officers and men ; but without any the least disturbance in his judgment or spirit.

6th. By water to Deptford, and there found our Trinity Brethren come from their election to church, where Dr. Britton made, methought, an indifferent sermon touching the decency that we ought to observe in God's house. Thence by barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. It seems they have with much ado carried it for Sir G. Carteret against Captain Harrison, poor man, who by succession ought to have been it, and most hands were for him, but only they were forced to fright the younger Brethren by requiring them to set their hands (which is an ill course) and then Sir G. Carteret carried it. Here were at dinner my Lord Sandwich, Mr. Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner, and good company. Mr. Prin also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with his hat on all the while ; but nobody took notice of it to him at all ; but in discourse with the Dr. he did declare himself that he ever was, and has expressed himself in all his books for mixt communion against the Presbyterian examination.

Thence after dinner by water, my Lord Sandwich and all us Tangier men where at the Committee busy till night with great confusion, and then by coach home, with this content however that I find myself every day become more and more known, and shall one day hope to have benefit by it.

8th. All day before dinner with Creed talking of many things, among others, of my Lord's going so often to Chelsy, and he do tell me that his daughters do perceive all, and do hate the place, and the young woman, Mrs. Betty Becke; for my Lord who sent them thither only for a disguise for his going thither will come under pretence to see them, and pack them out of doors to the Parke, and stay behind with her; but now the young ladies are gone to their mother to Kensington. After dinner till 10 at night in my study writing of my old broken office notes in shorthand all in one book, till my eyes did ake ready to drop out.

10th. By water to White Hall, and there to a Committee of Tangier, and had occasion to see how my Lord Ashworth deports himself, which is very fine indeed, and it joys my heart to see that there is any body looks so near into the King's business as I perceive he do in this business of my Lord Peterborough's accounts. Thence into the Parke, and met and walked with Captain Silas Taylor, my old acquaintance while I was of the Exchequer, and Dr., Whore talking of musique and particularly of Mr. Berkenshaw's way, which Taylor magnifies mightily, and perhaps but what it deserves, but not so easily to be understood as he and others make of it.

11th. With my wife only to take the ayre, it being very warm and pleasant, to Bowe and Old Ford; and thence to Hackney. There light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries; and so with good refreshment home.

12th (Lord's day). Troubled in my mind about the knavery and neglect of Captain Fudge and Taylor, who were to have had their ship for Tangier ready for Thursday last, and now the men by mistake are come on board, and not any master or man or boy of the ship's company on board with them when we came by her side this afternoon, and also I received a letter from Mr. Coventry this day in complaint of it.

13th. Up at 5 o'clock, and with Captain Taylor on board her at Deptford, and found all out of order, only the soldiers civil. I rated at Captain Taylor, whom, contrary to my expectation, I found a lying and a very stupid blundering fellow, good for nothing, and yet we talk of him in the Navy as if he had been an excellent officer, but I find him a lying knave, and of no judgment or dispatch at all. After finding the condition of the ship, no master, not above four men, and many ships' provisions, sayls, and other things wanting, I went back and called upon Fudge, whom I found like a lying rogue unready to go on board, but I did so jeer him that I made him get everything ready, and left Taylor and H. Russell to quicken him, and so away and by water on to White Hall, where I met his Royal Highnesse at a Tangier Committee about this very thing, and did there satisfy him how things are, at which all was pacified without any trouble, and I hope may end well, but I confess I am at a real trouble for fear the rogue should not do his work, and I come to shame and losse of the money I did hope justly to have got by it. Thence walked with Mr. Coventry to St. James's, and there spent the whole morning reading of some old Navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the Navy then, above what it is now, is very observable. Anon to dinner, after dinner to discourse of the business of the Dutch warr, wherein

he tells me the Dutch do in every particular, which are but few and small things that we can demand of them, whatever cry we unjustly make, do seem to offer at an accommodation, for they do owne that it is not for their profit to have warr with England. We did also talk of a History of the Navy of England, how fit it were to be writ ; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the History of the late Dutch warr, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius ; and, if well done, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.

14th. After dinner by coach to Kensington. In the way overtaking Mr. Laxton, the apothecary, with his wife and daughters, very fine young lasses, in a coach ; and so both of us to my Lady Sandwich, who hath lain this fortnight here at Deane Hodges's. Much company came hither to-day, my Lady Carteret, &c., Sir William Wheeler and his lady, and, above all, Mr. Becke, of Chelsy, and wife and daughter, my Lord's mistresse, and one that hath not one good feature in her face, and yet is a fine lady, of a fine taille, and very well carriaged, and mighty discreet. I took all the occasion I could to discourse with the young ladies in her company to give occasion to her to talk, which now and then she did, and that mighty finely, and is, I perceive, a woman of such an ayre, as I wonder the less at my Lord's favour to her, and I dare warrant him she hath brains enough to entangle him. Two or three hours we were in her company, going into Sir H. Finche's¹

¹ Kensington Palace was the seat of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and was sold by his son to King William, who greatly improved it. The gardens were originally only

garden, and seeing the fountayne, and singing there with the ladies, and a mighty fine cool place it is, with a great laver of water in the middle and the bravest place for musique I ever heard. After much mirth, discoursing to the ladies in defence of the city against the country or court, and giving them occasion to invite themselves to-morrow to me to dinner, to my venison pasty, I got their mother's leave, and so good night, very well pleased with my day's work, and, above all, that I have seen my Lord's mistresse.

15th. By appointment with Captain Witham, the Captain that brought the newes of the disaster at Tangier, where my Lord Teviott was slain. I got him to tell me the whole story of my Lord Teviott's misfortune; for he was upon the guard with his horse near the towne, when at a distance he saw the enemy appear upon a hill, a mile and a half off, and made up to them, and with much ado escaped himself; but what became of my Lord he neither knows nor thinks that any body but the enemy can tell. Our losse was about four hundred. But he tells me that the greater wonder is that my Lord Teviott met no sooner with such a disaster; for every day he did commit himself to more probable danger than this, for now he had the assurance of all his scouts that there was no enemy thereabouts; whereas he used every day to go out with two or three with him, to make his discoveries, in greater danger, and yet the man that could not endure to have anybody else to go a step out of order to endanger himself. He concludes him to be the man of the hardest fate to lose so much honour at one blow that ever was. His

twenty-six acres. Queen Anne added thirty acres; but the principal addition was made by Queen Caroline, who took in near three hundred acres from Hyde Park. The Serpentine was formed between the years 1730-33. (M. B.)

relation being done he parted; and so I home to look after things for dinner. And anon at noon comes Mr. Creed by chance, and by and by the three young ladies:¹ and very merry we were with our pasty, very well baked; and a good dish of roasted chickens; pease, lobsters, strawberries. And after dinner to cards: and about five o'clock, by water down to Greenwich; and up to the top of the hill, and there played upon the ground at cards. And so to the Cherry Garden, and then by water singing finely to the Bridge, and there landed; and so took boat again, and to Somerset House. And by this time, the tide being against us, it was past ten of the clock; and such a troublesome passage, in regard of my Lady Paulina's fearfulness, that in all my life I never did see any poor wretch in that condition. Being come hither, there waited for them their coach; but it being so late, I doubted what to do how to get them home. After half an hour's stay in the street, I sent my wife home by coach with Mr. Creed's boy; and myself and Creed in the coach home with them. But, Lord! the fear that my Lady Paulina was in every step of the way; and indeed at this time of the night it was no safe thing to go that road; so that I was even afeard myself, though I appeared otherwise. We came safe, however, to their house; where we knocked them up, my Lady and all the family being in bed. So put them into doors; and leaving them with the mayds, bade them good night, and then into the towne, Creed and I, it being about twelve o'clock and past; and to several houses, inns, but could get no lodging, all being in bed. At the last house, at last, we found some people drinking and roaring; and there got in, and after drinking, got an ill bed, where

16th. I lay in my drawers and stockings and waste-

¹ Lord Sandwich's daughters.

coate till five of the clock, and so up ; and being well pleased with our frolique, walked to Knightsbridge, and there eat a messe of creame, and so to St. James's, and so I to White Hall, and took coach, and found my wife well got home last night, and now in bed. So to the 'Change. The talke upon the 'Change is, that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his owne ship, of the plague, at Cales : that the Holland Ambassador here do endeavour to 'sweeten us with fair words; and things likely to be peaceable. Home after I had spoke with my cozen Richard Pepys upon the 'Change, about supplying us with bewpers¹ from Norwich, which I should be glad of, if cheap.

17th. By water to Woolwich to make a discovery of a cheate providing for us in the working of some of our own ground Tows into new cordage, to be sold to us for Riga cordage. So to the Dockyarde and to Deptford by water, and there very long informing myself in the business of flags and bewpers¹ and other things, and so home late, being weary, and full of good information to-day, but I perceive the corruptions of the Navy are of so many kinds that it is endless to look after them, especially while such a one as Sir W. Batten discourages every man that is honest.

18th. From morning till 11 at night at my office very busy, setting many businesses in order to my great trouble, but great content in the end. Strange to see how pert Sir W. Pen is to-day newly come from Portsmouth with his head full of great reports of his service and the state of the ships there.

20th. I to the Duke, where we did our usual business. And among other discourse of the Dutch, he was merrily saying how they print that Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Sandwich, are to be Generalls ; and soon after is to follow them

¹ See p. 168 of present vol. (M. B.)

“Vieux Pen;” and so the Duke called him in mirth the Old Pen. They have, it seems, lately wrote to the King, to assure him that their setting-out ships was only to defend their fishing-trade, and to stay near home, not to annoy the King’s subjects; and to desire that he would do the like with his ships: which the King laughs at, but yet is troubled they should think him such a child, to suffer them to bring home their fish and East India Company’s ships, and then they will not care for us. Meeting Mr. Pickering, he tells me how my Lady last weeke went to see Mrs. Becke, the mother; and by and by the daughter came in, but that my Lady do say herself, as he says, that she knew not for what reason, for she never knew they had a daughter, which I do not believe. She was troubled, and her heart did rise as soon as she appeared, and seems the most ugly woman that ever she saw. This if true were strange, but I believe it is not. Thence to my Lord’s lodgings; and were merry with the young ladies, who make a great story of their appearing before their mother the morning after we carried them, the last weeke, home so late; and that their mother took it very well, at least without any anger. Here I heard how the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale, after he had received a box on the eare by her brother (who was there a sentinel, in behalf of some courtier,) at the door; but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her, and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. The brother sent to the Court, and had a serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband: and so all is past. It seems Sir H. Bennet did look after her. My Lady very pleasant. After dinner came in Sir Thomas Crew and Mr. Sidney¹ lately

¹ Mr. Sidney Montagu. (M. B.)

come from France, who is growne a little, and a pretty youth he is ; but not so improved as they did give him out to be, but like a child still. But yet I can perceive he hath good parts and good inclinations.

21st. After dinner to White Hall to a Committee of Tangier, where the Duke of York, I perceive, do attend the business very well, much better than any man there or most of them, and my mind eased of some trouble I lay under for fear of his thinking ill of me from the bad successe in the setting forth of the crew men to Tangier. Meeting Mr. Moore, I perceive by him my Lord's business of his family and estate goes very ill, and runs in debt mightily. I would to God I were clear of it, both as to my owne money and the bond of 1,000*l.*, which I stand debtor for him in, to my cozen Thomas Pepys.

22nd. At noon to the 'Change and Coffee-house, where great talke of the Dutch preparing of sixty sayle of ships. The plague grows mightily among them, both at sea and land. Thence home, there coming to me my Lord Peterborough's Solicitor with a letter from him to desire present dispatch in his business and promises me 50*l.*, which is good newes, and I hope to do his business readily for him.

23rd. My cozen, Thomas Pepys, was with me yesterday and I took occasion to speak to him about the bond I stand bound for my Lord Sandwich to him in 1,000*l.* I did very plainly, obliging him to secrecy, tell him how the matter stands. I perceive by Mr. Moore to-day that he has been with my Lord, and my Lord how he takes it I know not, but he is looking after other security and I am mighty glad of it. W. Howe was with me this afternoon, to desire some things to be got ready for my Lord against his going down to his ship, which will be soon ; for it

seems the King and both the Queenes intend to visit him. The Lord knows how my Lord will get out of this charge; for Mr. Moore tells me to-day that he is 10,000*l.* in debt: and this will, with many other things that daily will grow upon him (while he minds his pleasure as he do), set him further backward.

24th. Out with Captain Witham in several places to look for oats for Tangier, and among other places to the City granary, where it seems every company have their granary and obliged to keep such a quantity of come always there or at a time of scarcity to issue so much at so much a bushell: and a fine thing it is to see their stores of all sorts, for piles for the bridge, and for pipes, a thing I never saw before. After dinner to White Hall; and Mr. Pierce showed me the Queene's bed-chamber, and her closett, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with him to the Parke, and there met the Queene coming from Chappell, with her Mayds of Honour, all in silver-lace gowns again; which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closett: where such variety of pictures, and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them; which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

26th. At my Lord Sandwich's; where his little daughter, my Lady Katharine was brought, who is lately come from my father's at Brampton, to have her cheeke looked after, which is and hath long been sore. But my Lord will rather have it be as it is,

with a scarr in her face, than endanger it being worse by tampering.¹ I went home and with Creed called at several churches, which, God knows, are supplied with very young men, and the churches very empty; so home and at our owne church looked in, and there heard one preach whom Sir W. Pen brought, which he desired us yesterday to hear, that had been his chaplin in Ireland, a very silly fellow. After dinner a frolique took us, we would go this afternoon to the Hope; so my wife dressed herself, and, with good victuals and drink, we took boat presently and the tide with us got down, but it was night, and the tide spent by the time we got to Gravesend; so there we stopped, but went not on shore, only Creed, to get some cherries,² and send a letter to the Hope, where the Fleete lies. And so, it being rainy, and thundering mightily, and lightning, we returned with great pleasure home, about twelve o'clock, Creed telling pretty stories in the boat. He lay with me all night.

27th. To Paul's Church yarde, and there saw Sir Harry Spillman's book,³ and I bespoke it and others.

28th. This day put on a half shirt first this summer, it being very hot; and yet so ill-tempered I am grown, that I am afeard I shall catch cold, while all the world is ready to melt away. To the Mitre and

¹ She married, first, Nicholas, son and heir of Sir N. Bacon, K.B.; and secondly, the Rev. Mr. Gardeman; and lived to be 96, dying 1757.

² It is said that Henry VIII. introduced the Kentish cherries. A writer at the end of the sixteenth century mentions cherries at 20s. a pound.—BUCKLE, *Common Place Book*, vol. ii. p. 395. (M. B.)

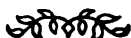
³ See July 7th. "Glossarium Archæologicum," of which only the first part, to the letter L, was published by himself, 1626; a second volume was collected from his papers, and published by Sir William Dugdale after the Restoration. Sir Henry Spellman died 1641, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (M. B.)

there comes Dr. Burnett to us, and there I began to have his advice about my disease, and then invited him to my house: and I am resolved to put myself into his hands.

29th. Mr. Shepley tells me how my brave dogg I did give him, going out betimes one morning to Huntingdon, was set upon by five other doggs, and worried to pieces, of which I am a little, and he the most sorry I ever saw man for such a thing. To Westminster to see Deane Honiwood, whom I had not visited a great while. He is a good-natured, but a very weake man, yet a Deane, and a man in great esteem. Thence walked to my Lord Sandwich's and there dined. My Lady and I sat two hours alone, talking of the condition of her family's being greatly in debt, and many children now coming up to provide for. I did give her my sense very plain of it, which she took well and carried further than myself, to the bemoaning their condition, and remembering how finely things were ordered about six years ago, when I lived there and my Lord at sea every year.

30th. By water to Woolwich and walked back from Woolwich to Greenwich all alone, save a man that had a cudgell in his hand, and, though he told me he laboured in the King's yarde, and many other good arguments that he is an honest man, yet, God forgive me! I did doubt he might knock me on the head behind with his club. But I got safe home. Then to the making up my month's accounts and find myself still a gainer and rose to 951 $\frac{1}{2}$., for which God be blessed. I end the month with my mind full of business and some sorrow that I have not exactly performed all my vowes, though my not doing is not my fault, and shall be made good out of my first leisure. Great doubts yet whether the Dutch warr go on or no. The Fleete ready in the Hope, of twelve sayle. The King and Queenes go on board,

they say, on Saturday next. Young children of my Lord Sandwich gone with their mayds from my mother's, which troubles me, it being, I hear from Mr. Shepley, with great discontent, saying, that though they buy good meate, yet can never have it before it stinks, which I am ashamed of.



VOL. II. LIST OF PRINCIPAL MISTAKES
IN THE FOURTH EDITION. 1854.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
2	2	hither . . .	mother.
2	28	performed . . .	reformed.
10	9	and basins . . .	or rim.
10	19	some . . .	great.
16	22	snugly . . .	frugally.
17	25	things . . .	stories.
19	17	King of Portugall . . .	King to her in Portugall.
19	29	Lady . . .	Lord.
20	5	mention . . .	motion.
20	31	assured . . .	answered.
21	7	he [Mr. Falconer] . . .	he, <i>i. e.</i> Mr. Coventry.
22	16	George . . .	Gouge.
31	18	Tylt . . .	Styll.
31	34	1,000 . . .	10,000.
36	31	abettors . . .	letters.
42	23	made . . .	taught.
47	34	crosses . . .	copes.
49	14	dancing . . .	fencing.
60	8	[have] become . . .	be in.
63	26	all . . .	kept.
69	15	meat . . .	neat.
69	32	gardens . . .	galleries.
72	21	here . . .	work.
87	19	£6,000 . . .	£60,000.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
104	35	fresh . . .	foule.
107	3	those built . . .	their build.
107	8	common . . .	mistaken.
108	4	use . . .	verse.
109	13	gallant . . .	gentle.
117	25	wonder . . .	bawdry.
150	6	and . . .	not.
153	24	morning . . .	evening.
153	27	and . . .	or.
164	30	apprehend . . .	affront.
165	26	desired . . .	hired.
170	8	selling . . .	stealing.
170	24	Buffleheaded fellow	Bufflehead, a fellow.
171	14	struck at. . .	stuck at.
181	8	turn . . .	tour.
183	7	Royal Duke . . .	Royal Oake.
193	10	sees . . .	says.
194	32	envy . . .	enemies.
202	1	convenience . . .	contrivance.
204	25	her . . .	two.
204	29	his . . .	no.
205	15	proposing . . .	persisting.
208	28	sees . . .	says.
221	15	quiet . . .	quick.
221	24	wife . . .	widow.
229	22	sees . . .	says.
241	26	talk . . .	tale.
242	8	time . . .	tune.
247	5	above . . .	about.
249	14	people . . .	why.
255	32	gets . . .	yet.
259	14	indeed . . .	ended.
260	9	content . . .	contempt.
264	28	kept . . .	took.
265	37	Deane . . .	He (Mr. Coventry.)
267	37	indiscreet . . .	indirect.
303	2	first . . .	just.
312	33	tongues . . .	tongs.
316	18	merry . . .	weary.
317	36	Spankes's . . .	Frank's.
318	8	house . . .	horse.
318	9	stony . . .	nasty.
328	13	business . . .	taking.
330	6	little . . .	all.
330	27	the Priest . . .	him.
332	27	worth . . .	birth.

PAGE	LINE		FOR	READ
345	4	shirts . . .		suits.
353	18	greater . . .		great.
361	26	safety . . .		uncertainty.
370	1	part . . .		port.
378	9	above . . .		about.
378	34	appear . . .		are.
384	23	all . . .		ell.
386	16	spot . . .		sport.
387	9	a time . . .		one bet.
387	19	pretty . . .		finely.
420	23	every . . .		his very.
434	22	Lord Peterborough .		Lord (<i>i.e.</i> Sandwich).
436	37	Maronicius . . .		Mauricius.
445	15	the . . .		be.
450	12	presented . . .		promised.
451	6	Wallis . . .		Wells.
464	18	recovered . . .		removed.
464	30	in that . . .		quite.
465	2	prettiest . . .		poorest.
472	11	all . . .		also.
481	11	sober . . .		stubborn.
482	6	hottest . . .		highest.
492	26	afraid . . .		ready.

END OF VOL. II.

